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ABSTRACT

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ADULT EDUCATION AND THE DISADVANTAGED ADULT

Darrell Anderson
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AA000350

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April 1969.

ADULT EDUCATION
AND THE
DISADVANTAGED ADULT

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Research of this type cannot be conducted without the assistance of a library. The authors are indebted to the staff of the University of British Columbia's Library for their aid in obtaining particular studies. In addition, special recognition is due to the ERIC Libraries at Yeshiva and Syracuse Universities for the bibliographies relating to the topic of poverty.

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FOREWORD

The persistence of poverty amidst affluence is one of the most puzzling social problems of the present age. Throughout history there has always been some portion of the population that was poor but at present there seems to be little justification nor rational explanation for the sizeable proportion of the population that is identifiable as a poverty group. The consequences of poverty are everywhere apparent in every measure of social prosperity from infant mortality and literacy rates to health and purchasing power. The causes of poverty are less obvious but they are to be found in both the environment and in the individuals who are poor.

The usual answer to the problem of poverty is an attempt to maintain the poor at a subsistence level. This has done nothing to alter the conditions which create poverty but it has tended to make poverty a self-perpetuating phenomenon and to establish a poverty sub-culture. The futility of this approach has been recognized to some extent so that poverty has been examined in other than purely economic terms. From this study has come an awareness that any solution to poverty involves changes in the physical and social environments in which the poor exist along with changes in those individuals who are poor. In either case, such change involves the education of adults in some way.

Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, adult education has been involved with the poor but not necessarily with the causes of poverty. The adult literacy movement which began in 1812 was not interested so much in poverty as it was in the question of sin which was equated with being poor. Thus the objective of adult education was the eradication of sin rather than the alleviation of poverty as such. At present, the concern with the education of the disadvantaged adult seems equally far-fetched. The educational enterprise today seems to be more concerned with the preservation of the status quo of the system than it is with the educational task at hand.

At the request of the Special Planning Secretariat of the Privy Council, the Department of Adult Education at the University of British Columbia undertook an examination of the question of adult education for the disadvantaged. The paper presented here is a report of the results of that inquiry. The most notable feature of the attached report is the scarcity of any fundamental research about the task of educating disadvantaged adults. The data presented here suggests clues for program development but particularly for further research that is needed desperately if adult education is to make a maximum contribution to the resolution of the problem of poverty.

Coolie Verner,
Professor of Adult Education,
Project Director.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Since the beginning of the present decade much attention has been focused on the plight of the disadvantaged citizen and governments in both the United States and Canada have enacted legislation to provide funds for remedial programs for the disadvantaged. These efforts have been handicapped by the absence of any clear understanding of the disadvantaged and because little, if any, of the available resources have been allocated to the study of this group. Furthermore, the task of analyzing the poverty problem, and, subsequently of establishing and administering remedial programs, has been almost solely the prerogatives of white, middleclass professionals and political executives (216). In consequence, remedial programs for the disadvantaged have remained piecemeal and notably inadequate to effect any significant change in the status of the disadvantaged adult or in their attitudes toward themselves and society.

Poverty is an ancient social phenomenon which has been of intermittent concern to mankind. Social scientists are still struggling to define poverty (101, 216) and to identify its causative factors. Whereas previously the identification of poverty had been based almost solely on economic criteria, recently there has been an attempt to reconceptualize the phenomenon.

The growing awareness that poverty has both socio-economic and social-psychological dimensions shows it to be both objective and subjective in its manifestations (123, 216, 287, 307).

The differences between the disadvantaged and other members of society are such as to suggest that a distinctive sub-culture of poverty has developed within the dominant culture. The crucial factors conducive to the development of a disadvantaged sub-culture lie in the nature and structure of the economic system through which the resources of society are used and distributed. Thus, sub-standard housing, inadequate public services, limited employment opportunities, and low incomes contribute to the formation of a poverty group. At the same time, certain social characteristics of those in the poverty group influence their perception of and response to such economic factors. In urban slums, for example, the hard core poor have developed their own self-contained social system in which they exhibit a fluent use of a particular language style that provides both an identity to members and protection for the group, and this hard core group differs from other urban slum residents with respect to the perception of time, self in social space, and the classification of schemes and causality (93). Furthermore, such a sub-culture appears to be self-perpetuating as it socializes its younger members to its own ranks.

The continued existence of a poverty sub-culture in the midst of an affluent society stems from the interaction of the disadvantaged with the dominant society. It is this society which tolerates the environmental conditions conducive to the creation of disadvantaged status, while simultaneously rejecting those individuals who have fallen victim to such formative conditions. These victims, in turn, learn to accommodate themselves to a disadvantaged status and in doing so, reject the values of the society which is responsible for their plight. This interaction is self-perpetuating and the conditions which produce it must be modified on a massive scale if the problem of poverty is to be resolved. But at the same time, the disadvantaged themselves must also change those characteristics which make them so immediately susceptible to the poverty-forming factors in their environment.

For the most part, poverty programs have concentrated on alleviating abject human suffering by providing a temporary palliative instead of mounting an assault on the basic causes of poverty. The move from private to public charity has signalled the general acceptance of social responsibility for the existence of poverty, but only minimum subsistence has been provided for its victims. Such public welfare programs neither alter the basic environmental factors nor modify the social characteristics of those who are poor. Consequently, the vicious circle remains unbroken.

Programs which seek to modify the environment alone are clearly inadequate as they do nothing to alter the social characteristics of the poor, who also must share in the responsibility for the ultimate reduction of poverty. To change the behaviour of the poor and to modify their value systems is more difficult than to change the environment, yet such behavioural change is an indispensable prerequisite for a solution to poverty. Although the values and attitudes of disadvantaged adults may be modified through effective educational programs, this matter has not yet received adequate attention in the war on poverty and existing educational programs emphasize literacy and fundamental education as a prerequisite to vocational training (48).

PURPOSE AND PLAN

The principal concern of this study is to examine the role of education in altering the personal and social characteristics of disadvantaged adults. At the outset, the study will review the socio-economic and social-psychological characteristics of the disadvantaged which have been identified by research, and then examine the ways in which these identifiable characteristics influence the response of disadvantaged individuals both to their environment and to educational programs. A number of educational programs specifically designed for disadvantaged adults will be analyzed to assess the approach to the educational task and to measure the success as reported by research. Finally, the study will present those elements which appear to influence education for the disadvantaged adult and provide clues to the design and conduct of such programs.

SOURCES OF DATA

This study is based on a review of the literature and has been limited mainly to research reports on remedial adult educational programs. Such studies are found in the literature related to rural resettlement, agricultural extension activities, programs for low-income farmers, community development, urban redevelopment projects, and retraining and remedial educational programs for the disadvantaged. Descriptive data on poverty and on the characteristics of the disadvantaged are used selectively.

PROBLEM OF TERMS

An analysis of the research revealed a broad range of terms used to define poverty and to describe its victims. In this study, "poverty" is regarded as a state of need or inadequacy which exists in fact for an individual or which is perceived by him to exist. The term "disadvantaged" is applied to those who are members of a poverty sub-culture and thus handicapped with respect to the mode of the dominant society. This definition includes those individuals variously identified as the "hard-core poor", "the lower socio-economic citizenry", "low income people", "the culturally deprived", "the functionally illiterate", "the educationally deficient", "the hard-core unemployed" or other similar descriptive phrases.

The existence of a distinct sub-culture accentuates the fact that cultural differences are not necessarily synonymous with cultural deprivation. Hence, the disadvantaged should not be identified solely as "culturally deprived" (40, 193, 266, 292). In effect, then, a comparison of the disadvantaged with the dominant population is a cross-cultural comparison through which differences in culture are more significant and meaningful than differences in individual characteristics.

CHAPTER II

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DISADVANTAGED

Since a disadvantaged status is not the consequence exclusively of economic determinants, it has been necessary to reconceptualize poverty using both objective factors which are almost solely economic and subjective factors which describe an individual's perception of himself as poor. With this two dimensional concept of poverty, it is possible to describe the disadvantaged population in ways which emphasize the conspicuous and significant differences between the poor and others. These differentiating features are summarized here first in terms of common socio-economic characteristics and then in terms of social-psychological characteristics.

I. SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

The disadvantaged adult differs from the general population with respect to certain socio-economic measures such as age and sex, education, income, employment, occupation, family size, marital status, health, and residence.

AGE AND SEX

Although the very young, the elderly, and the female are over-represented in the poverty group, neither age nor sex is itself a differentiating characteristic apart from the relationship to other factors; consequently, age and sex will be noted where relevant in discussing other socio-economic characteristics.

EDUCATION

Educational level, as measured by years of school completed, is a consistently significant variable related to occupation and income as well as to certain other social and psychological factors which may affect the level of living (31, 150, 233, 234, 235, 238, 250, 292). In Canada in 1961, families in which the head had less than secondary education accounted for more than two-thirds of all low income families (123). Amongst the disadvantaged, educational level has been found to be consistently below that of the general population so that a major proportion of the disadvantaged are characterized by educational deficiency (5, 9, 39, 115, 150, 153, 180, 234, 238, 315).

There are age and sex differences associated with educational level in the general population. Many studies have revealed that the male generally has a lower educational level than the female, with the differential being as much as one to two years more of schooling for the female (44, 63, 96, 155, 164, 170, 207, 245). A study of low income subjects in rural Canada disclosed that husbands had achieved an average educational level of 6.9 grades, while wives had completed 7.7 grades. Similarly, among their children, the males who had finished their formal schooling had completed 8.5 years whereas the females had attained 9.2 years of schooling (200).

The educational deficiency of the disadvantaged becomes conspicuous when considering literacy levels. There are two levels of literacy that are usually identified: 1) The complete illiterate has had no formal schooling and consequently is unable to read, write, or figure at the level of the first grade (5, 12). 2) The functional illiterate, on the other hand, is one whose competence in those skills does not extend beyond the level of grade five (1, 5, 12, 28). At present, the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity uses the grade eight level as the criterion for functional illiteracy in view of increasing job specialization and expanding technology requiring higher educational qualifications and the normal prerequisites for vocational training is currently set at the grade ten level of educational achievement (245). Among the disadvantaged, there is a disproportionate number classified as complete or functional illiterates and virtually none who can satisfy the grade ten prerequisite for vocational training. Thus, a majority of the disadvantaged are excluded from participation in those educational programs that offer a potential escape from poverty. A 1960 survey in Canada found that about half of the unemployed had not finished primary school and over 90 per cent had not completed high school. Among people who had not completed primary school, the unemployment rate was six times greater than that among high school graduates (238). The unemployment rate of school dropouts from 14 to 19 years old, is twice the overall Canadian average (253).

A low educational achievement results in unemployability for those in the poverty group (21, 27, 48, 110, 207, 268, 299) and is, therefore, also related directly to income. An income level of $3,000 or less was associated with illiteracy (8, 27, 31, 164, 245, 268). In an evaluative study of adult basic education in a Southern rural community, a participant generally had an annual family income of less than $1,000 and frequently had terminated his formal schooling at the 4th grade level (31). In Canada, the average income of a family head reporting either no schooling or one to four years of schooling completed was $3,318 a year compared with an average of $4,985 for all family heads (28). Among Canadian males with only an elementary education, 26 per cent earned less than $2,000 annually, and 46 per cent, less than $3,000. There is a similar situation with respect to low income and inadequate education in the data for women. About two-thirds of all women with only an elementary education, 40 per cent of those with a secondary education, and 20 per cent of those with some university reported earning less than $2,000 annually (164).

Several recent studies found a relationship between illiteracy and crime in that the educationally disadvantaged are more likely to become incarcerated in a correctional institution than are those with more education (12, 205, 217, 230, 236). A study conducted in the Ohio State Reformatory (1) revealed that 73 out of 142 inmates were unable to register an achievement score equivalent to grade one. The mean educational grade achievement was 1.97, and three-quarters of the inmates achieved a grade of 4.3 or less. In Texas, 55.6 per cent of the prison population was classified as functionally illiterate because of an educational achievement of grade five or less (27).

The relationship between a low level of education and poor nutrition was suggested by a number of studies (4, 127, 235, 245). The evaluation of a foods and nutrition education program for low-income families in Pennsylvania indicated that ninety-one persons (62 per cent) of the 145 subjects had eight years or less of formal schooling and they showed little interest in using the nutritional information provided. Half of the homemakers who were unaware of the mailed information and recipe cards had no formal schooling (4).

The lack of nutritional knowledge was demonstrated by a study of 352 Ontario farm women. Only 161 (46 per cent) knew enough about nutrition to serve one or more correct sources of Vitamin C to their families (127). Similarly, a study of welfare recipients in Kentucky revealed that only three-quarters of the recommended servings of bread and cereals were being eaten, more meat and meat substitutes than recommended were being used, and only half of the servings recommended by the U.S. Department of Agriculture for milk, fruit, and vegetables were being included in the diet (245).

Homemakers in a Virginia study of food buying revealed that saving money on food was the main interest and concern to those with a low educational level. On the other hand, the better educated attach greater importance to "getting the grade or quality of food for the money spent", "health and nutrition", and "how to tell grade or quality". Further, 20 per cent of the homemakers with the lowest level of education compared to five per cent of those with one or more years of college expressed "the difficulty of meal preparation". Both education and income were associated with levels of knowledge about grading and quality, but there was little if any consistent relationship between education or income and knowledge of seasonality and price. (235).

INCOME

Amount

The amount of income is a common measure of disadvantage on the assumption that income basically determines the level of living. In the United States, the Office of Economic Opportunity originally defined poverty in terms of family income which was $3,000 or less. In 1965, the definition was modified to fit the size of the family unit with specified annual incomes by size of family as follows: a one-person family, $1,540; a two-person family, $1,990; a three-person family, $2,400; and a four-person family, $3,130 (245). In Canada rough indices of minimum urban cash requirements have been listed as $1,500 to $1,800 for single persons; $2,000 to $2,500 for two adults; and $2,600 to $3,400 for an urban family of four. Farm families were expected to need cash incomes at 80 per cent of the urban level (164, 231, 238).

Recently, other income criteria were presented for the measurement of poverty. One criterion defined low-income families and individuals as those using 70 per cent or more of their incomes for food, clothing, and shelter. Single persons with incomes below $1,500, families of two with less than $2,500 and families of three, four and five or more with incomes of less than $3,000, $3,500 and $4,000 respectively constituted the disadvantaged. On this basis, in 1961 there were about 4.2 million persons and they accounted for some 27 per cent of the total non-farm population of Canada. In addition, there were approximately 550,000 farm persons which would raise the low income percentage for all Canada to just under 29 per cent (123).

A second criterion assumed that expenditures of 60 per cent or more of income on food, clothing, and shelter by an individual or family indicated disadvantaged circumstances. This apportionment raises the minimum essential income to $2,000 for a single person, $3,500 for a family of two, $4,000 for families of three and four, and $5,000 for families of five or more. Applied to the 1961 non-farm population noted previously, these changes raise the proportion classified as low-income from 27 per cent to 41 per cent (123). In Canada, low incomes were more pronounced for the young and old who are single. Among male wage earners, 77 per cent of the youth under 20 years of age and 35 per cent of the males over 65 years of age earn annual incomes of $2,000 or less (238).

In spite of having achieved more formal education than her male counterpart, the disadvantaged female in Canada suffers more in regard to income distribution than does the male. In 1961, over half (53 per cent) of the families with female heads compared with 21 per cent of the families with male heads had incomes of $3,000 or less. Likewise, almost two-fifths (37 per cent) of female family heads compared with 11 per cent of male heads lived on less than $2,000 annually. In fact, almost one-fifth (19 per cent) of the female family heads had incomes of $1,000 or less (238).

Source of Income

Welfare and government transfer payments have been identified as an important source of income for the disadvantaged (9, 10, 11, 15, 48, 123, 150, 164, 165, 200, 216, 235, 289, 299). In some areas of the Gaspe, where unemployment and under-employment are chronic, between 90 and 100 per cent of the population is maintained by $100,000,000 distributed annually through public assistance and transfer payments (256). Among native Indian people, more than one-third (33.5 to 36 per cent) of all Indian households depend upon welfare grants provided chiefly by the Indian Affairs Branch. This general rate of financial dependency for Indians was about ten times the national average (258).

It has been suggested further that individual income is no longer a sound measure of an individual's level of living. What matters more is family income (215, 306). Members of both the upper-lower and the lower-lower classes are compelled frequently to rely upon the work of wives and mothers as an aid to economic survival (170, 280). McBean and Abell (200) found in a rural area of Ontario that extremely low income was significantly related to the family dependence on either one or two of six possible sources of income. Ninety-four of the 150 subjects mentioned farming and government payments most frequently as the sources of income.

Access to Capital

Another handicap suffered by the economically disadvantaged is an inability to obtain credit and to employ it effectively (24, 122, 147, 164, 206, 253, 289). In 1963, the general population in Canada was estimated to have had access to credit averaging $255 per person. The Indian population, on the other hand, was only able to obtain credit to the extent of slightly over $1 per person (258). Furthermore, the cost of credit might be in excess of what a subsistence budget could afford (78).

EMPLOYMENT

The disadvantaged generally suffer extended periods of unemployment (8, 15, 48, 123, 159, 216, 228, 268). In Hamilton, Ontario, 160 employable families and 300 unemployable families had been without work for more than a year (11). Likewise, the employment history of 160 Minneapolis subjects showed that almost half the group (45 per cent) had been out of work at least half the time during the preceding five years (299). A study of 52 "difficult-to-place" persons of a sheltered workshop in Montreal revealed that only two subjects had worked more than one hundred days out of a potential of 260 working days (9).

In general, the disadvantaged worker is employed less and working less than he wants usually in part-time or casual employment where productivity and income are low. Hence, under-employment is a major factor in poverty, especially rural poverty (24, 164, 207). Jenness (164) associated under-employment with certain occupations such as fishing, trapping, and some forestry operations in the eastern parts of Canada.

Another characteristic associated with the disadvantaged is seasonal unemployment. In Canada, seasonal variations in activity accounted for as much as one-third of the total unemployment; and in many areas, this was a principal cause of poverty (123, 238). Of those with incomes of less than $2,000 over 60 per cent of the male and 35 per cent of the female workers were without work for more than one-quarter of the year. These data virtually excluded farmers, fishermen, pensioners, small business owners and the self-employed. A substantial proportion of Canada's poor are found among these groups (164).

A disproportionate number of the disadvantaged are limited to work in jobs which are of the semi-skilled and unskilled categories (5, 8, 9, 10, 31, 33, 45, 48, 70, 96, 216). A Detroit study (110) of hard core unemployed found that 1,152 male applicants (40 per cent) of the sample were semi-skilled and 1,156 (29.8 per cent) were unskilled. Of the 863 women studied, 241 (25.1 per cent) were semi-skilled and 156 (18.2 per cent) unskilled. A Minneapolis study (299) disclosed that among the hard core unemployed there were approximately 65 per cent in the unskilled, semi-skilled, and service occupations.

In Canada, the incidence of low incomes in 1961 was more than twice the overall average in four occupational groups: farm workers, loggers and related workers, fishermen, trappers and hunters, and labourers (123). Such occupations generally require a low level of job skills. Similarly in a study of a Southern rural community (31), the males were or had last been employed as farm labourers, while the females were or had been in domestic services.

Jenness (163) comments that it should come as no surprise that low incomes are associated with the young and the old in Canada because both groups exhibit a relatively large number of unskilled workers. Likewise, the majority of Indians in Canada are unskilled workers who lack the knowledge and skills required in a large-scale complex economy; consequently, the Indians have a disproportionately high dependence on welfare (150).

FAMILY SIZE

The disadvantaged family is usually larger than average in size. Data from several studies revealed that extremely low income was related to the bearing and rearing of five or more children (8, 31, 39, 110, 200, 242, 245). Among the Indians and the Metis of Canada, it was not uncommon for families to consist of ten or more children with a considerable number reporting between 13 and 16 children (22). This situation was similar for migrant agricultural workers (317).

As early as 1936, family size was recognized as a factor related to poverty (245). Subsequent research has since revealed an inverse relationship between fertility rates and socio-economic status (170), as is demonstrated in rural areas of Quebec and the Atlantic Region which have larger families and a lower level of living than the rest of Canada (306).

It has been suggested further that although the general relationship between social class and fertility is inverse, within each class the relationship is direct. Hence the better-off manual workers have more children than the poorest. Social mobility may be the intervening variable between birth rates and social class (304). The findings of Berent (51) strengthen the argument that those who seek upward mobility will tend to curtail family size in order to facilitate the process, while those who are downwardly mobile do so in order to slow the course of their decline. One Canadian study (238) contended that family size was related more to education than to income. Thus families in which the household head had the least education were generally the largest.

MARITAL STATUS

Marital status is not a reliable variable whereby to identify the disadvantaged. Jenness (164) found that low incomes in Canada were most pronounced among the young and the old who were single. On the other hand, data furnished by the U.S. Department of Labour for March, 1962 showed that about 230,000 young men in the 14 to 19 age group were married. Of this number about 95 per cent were employed but earned inadequate incomes. Besides, more than 700,000 non-farm families with family heads below the age of 25 had total incomes of less than $3,000 in 1961 (314).

A study of incarcerated subjects enrolled in an occupational rehabilitation and employment project revealed that 85 per cent were single, and although only 15 per cent of the 289 youths, ranging in age from 17 to 26 years, were or had been married, an additional 16 per cent were fathers out of wedlock (217). Among the hard core unemployed studied in Detroit, 65 per cent were married. Approximately one in four men and women were single, and more than one in five (22 per cent) of the females were either divorced, separated or widowed (110). In an Illinois study (8) 55.7 per cent of the subjects were divorced, widowed or separated compared with 23.5 per cent who were married and 20.7 per cent who were unmarried. This was in contrast to the findings obtained from a survey of unemployed persons in the state which showed over 70 per cent married (299).

Similarly a survey of thirty-five adult literacy classes (48) indicated that a great majority of the participants were married. An evaluation of an adult basic education program in a southern rural community (31) also revealed that the participants were very likely to be married and over 40 years of age. It might well be that because of their greater economic responsibilities, the married subjects were more inclined to participate in educational programs.

HEALTH

The disadvantaged are characterized by a high incidence of diseases, higher rates of infant mortality, lower life expectancy, more chronic illness, more dental defects, and a greater evidence of generally poor physical and mental health (8, 9, 10, 11, 31, 55, 57, 94, 123, 155, 163, 184, 231, 245, 289, 292, 299, 316). In Canada, the infant mortality rate varied from 23 to 193 out of 1,000 depending upon the income of the region of residence (231). The infant mortality rate among the Eskimos is reported to be 293 deaths per thousand live births, or more than 10 times the infant death rate for the population as a whole (123). Similarly, life expectancy showed a distinct range. In 1963, the national average was 60.5 years for men and 64.1 years for women (231). Among Eskimos and Indians the figures were considerably lower, with the average life expectancy for Eskimos about 20 years (231), for Indian males 33.1 years, and for Indian females 34.71 years. If deaths occurring among Indians during the first twelve months of life were excluded, however, the average age at death for males rises to over 46 years and to just under 48 years for females (258).

The disadvantaged were also characterized by lower expenditures for health services, less use of medical facilities, lower rates of pre-natal care and lower acceptance of voluntary health insurance and prepaid medical coverage (44, 118, 184, 198, 292). Dental care was also inadequate and mainly confined to extractions (198, 231, 245).

Practices relating to child care, home sanitation, preventive disease control, and the use of professional sources of information had little relevance to the household in which the family head was employed as a farm tenant, a share cropper, or farm labourer. In such households, furthermore, the homemakers were likely to have completed less than five years of formal schooling (198).

An International Conference on Malnutrition, Learning and Behavior in March, 1967, emphasized the urgent need for better understanding of the consequences of early malnutrition in man. Although no attempt had been made to separate the nutritional from other environmental influences in evaluating performance on various intelligence tests, Stoch and Smythe (260) believed that smaller body size and brain size in the malnourished group, as well as an increased frequency of abnormal brain waves and impaired visual perception, indicated organic brain damage. Similar results were observed by Craviato and his colleagues (260) in their study of Mexican and Guatemalan school children. The smallest children in the villages showed poorer intersensory integration for their age than those who were tallest, but among the children of upper-income families in Mexico City, no such correlation existed.

Further, there are a number of circumstances in which the effects of early malnutrition on mental development have been firmly established. There are a number of hereditary diseases which induce nutritional deficiency through an inborn error of metabolism, and the resulting impairment of brain development illustrates the way in which nutritional factors can influence the development and function of the central nervous system. Such inherited nutritional defects in themselves should dispel any doubt that nutritional deficiency, if sufficiently early and severe, can have profound and permanently detrimental consequences for learning and behaviour (260).

The excessive health problems of the disadvantaged were attributable to a number of factors including inadequate health care, deficient nutrition, sub-standard housing, and a lack of recreation, (8, 21, 215, 242, 258, 281) and there was an inter-relationship of these factors with inadequate incomes and low educational levels (198, 231, 253, 260).

RESIDENCE

Isolation

The socially and economically disadvantaged may well prefer to live in an isolated location but such preference entails certain additional handicaps as inhabitants of isolated areas have more limited employment opportunities, lack medical and dental services and show the lowest rates of participation in adult educational activities (164, 166, 198, 240).

Isolation also had an impact on communication. Amongst a group of the disadvantaged in Kentucky, four-fifths lived on an unpaved road, four-fifths never received a newspaper, about one-half never watched television, and one-third never listened to the radio. These handicaps of isolation coupled with the low educational level of the parents and their lack of knowledge about the existence of educational facilities contribute to the formation and perpetuation of a distinct sub-culture (245). Hawthorn (150) has indicated that it is the geographical dispersal of Indian communities in Canada which has hindered the development of powerful regional or national organizations.

Location

Although the socially disadvantaged were found in both urban and rural areas, a large proportion of Canada's poor are located in rural settings and in the Atlantic Provinces (123). Rural areas were reported to have 28.5 per cent of their male and 66.8 per cent of the female residents earning annual incomes of $2,000 or less. This rural-urban difference was even more pronounced in Newfoundland, New Brunswick and Quebec where half of the male wage earners in rural areas earned less than $2,000 (164). Similarly in Kentucky the low income families were more concentrated in rural areas (245).

Rural areas also tended to have more functional illiterates than urban areas, but recent studies suggested that this situation was changing with particular reference to the older population (266). In Texas, there has been a definite trend toward the urbanization of the educationally deficient, and the greatest concentration of illiterates in that state was found in 21 metropolitan areas (27). In Kentucky illiteracy has remained concentrated more among farm residents (245). Since 1921, there has been a marked shift in the rural-urban distribution of illiterates in British Columbia. From 1941 to 1951 there was a decrease of 15 per cent in the number of rural illiterates and an increase of 47 per cent in the number of urban illiterates. From 1951 to 1961 rural illiterates decreased by 18 per cent while urban illiterates increased by 35 per cent (266). This differential cannot be explained solely by the shift in the rural-urban distribution of the population during those periods.

Mobility

The disadvantaged in rural areas were generally an immobile group. In one Nova Scotia area, with a labour force indicating a considerable amount of unemployment and underemployment, as well as substantial numbers reporting a fairly low level of living, the stability of residence was apparent. Some 81 per cent had been born within the project area; 36 per cent had never lived beyond their present community for six months or more; and 54 per cent had lived more than 30 years in their present place of residence (96). Similarly, a study of low income farmers in Missouri revealed that 50 per cent of them were living in the county of their birth and 16 per cent were resident in adjacent counties (192). Such low mobility among the disadvantaged rural population might be a factor in their continuing disadvantaged status if they will not move to areas of greater employment opportunities.

In contrast, the length of residence for the socially disadvantaged in urban areas was frequently very short (8, 69, 110, 249, 288). The 1961 Census indicated that 23.4 per cent of the people in an urban renewal area in Vancouver had lived in their homes for less than one year and 46.8 per cent had been there less than two years. Further, the pupil turnover rate in the local elementary school amounted to approximately half of the school population (288).

Standard of Housing

The quality of the dwelling units available in an area is an indicator of socio-economic status. As might be expected, the disadvantaged live in areas having a preponderance of old, dilapidated, overcrowded, and inadequate housing lacking the ordinary amenities (180, 220, 231, 245, 258, 268, 292). In its description of inadequate housing, the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity also included sound housing without complete plumbing (245).

In Canada there were over 6,000 Indian families who were either sharing accommodation with other family units or living in improvised and inadequate shelters. A survey in 1962 revealed that 60 per cent of the Indian families live in houses of three rooms or less compared to a national average of 11 per cent. Further data showed that only 44 per cent of the Indian homes were provided with electricity, 13 per cent with running water, 9 per cent were serviced with sewers or septic tanks, and 7 per cent equipped with indoor baths. This can be compared to a national average in which 99 per cent of Canadian homes were provided with electricity, 92 per cent had running water and were serviced by sewers or septic tanks, and 84 per cent were equipped with indoor baths (258).

In a Halifax study, of the 134 Negro families interviewed, slightly more than half lived in overcrowded dwellings which were in need of major repair. Only one-seventh of the families had private toilet facilities while more than half the families had neither private nor shared bathroom facilities (268).

The quality or condition of dwellings alone might be a misleading criterion. It was found that residents of the Prairie Region had fewer amenities than those found in homes in the Atlantic Region even though the prairie dwellers were more affluent. Therefore, housing conditions might reflect to some extent certain social-psychological characteristics of a population (292).

Both the lower construction rates in depressed areas and the meagre per capita investment in housing for the disadvantaged have been noted (258, 292). In 1963, the total per capita investment in housing for the general Canadian population was $90 compared with $21 for Indians (258). No doubt this expenditure had its impact in inadequate housing which in turn contributed to the lower standard of health among disadvantaged people.

The disadvantaged population can be differentiated from the general population by socio-economic measures other than income alone. Income depends upon occupation to some extent and occupation, in turn, depends upon educational achievement very largely. Income and education are related to matters of residence, health, crime, and family size. Therefore, the single most important variable is educational level, and any attempt to alter the status of the disadvantaged must of necessity begin at that point.

Socio-economic characteristics alone, however, do not adequately explain either the behaviour or the sub-cultural qualities of the disadvantaged. In conjunction with socio-economic measures, it is necessary to consider the social-psychological characteristics of the poverty population since these are both a cause and a consequence of some of the more usual measures discussed above.

II. SOCIAL-PSYCHOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS

Although the disadvantaged adult is differentiated from the general population by certain socio-economic characteristics, there are even more striking differences observed with respect to certain social-psychological characteristics. These characteristics identify certain personality traits common to members of the poverty sub-culture and describe relationships both among members of that group, and between their sub-culture and society.

As a general description of the members of the poverty sub-culture, Skene (267) notes the following characteristics which have been identified in research: 1) the disadvantaged are authoritarian and resort to physical rather than verbal dominance; 2) they are rigidly restrictive especially if they hold religious beliefs which are prohibitive ones; 3) they are predisposed to intolerance and prejudice and tend toward black and white thinking; 4) they are more prone to action than to reflection and display anti-intellectual attitudes; 5) they are more inclined to physical or concrete thinking and learning than to impersonal abstract thinking; 6) they are given to resign themselves to "fate" and to be pessimistic about a vocational future; 7) they are frequently suspicious and hostile toward police and distrustful of governmental authority; 8) they show little development in imaginative and logical powers; 9) they are markedly reactionary in socio-political areas but somewhat favourable toward economic liberalism;

10) they are prone to have a short time perspective, living to fulfill immediate needs of the present; and 11) they are more likely to reveal hostility, tension, and aggression than do those who live well above the subsistence level.

These characteristics are supported in part by an analysis of adult illiterates made by Derbyshire (109) in which he notes certain personality traits: 1) they display insecurity which is often manifested by an acting out behaviour of boisterousness and by an unwillingness to admit error; 2) they resort to physical aggression because of the frustration which results from their recognized lack of status; 3) they prefer reticence and neglect to identify personal needs except when they occasionally react in an explosive manner; 4) they display lethargy and resign themselves to their current status; 5) their communication is sensitized to the non-verbal cues of those in power; and 6) they engage in concrete thinking and are content to refer to concrete objects and situations of personal importance rather than to abstract thought.

In an attempt to synthesize current knowledge on the motivations, values and attitudes of subsistence farmers, Rogers (254) isolates ten main elements characteristic of a sub-culture of peasantry. These include: 1) mutual distrust of interpersonal relations; 2) lack of innovativeness; 3) fatalism; 4) low aspirational levels; 5) a lack of deferred gratification; 6) limited time perspective; 7) familism; 8) dependence on government authority; 9) localism; and 10) lack of empathy. These functionally interdependent and mutually reinforcing parts represent values which are not readily conducive to self-help.

In Manitoba, small farm operators with low incomes were satisfied with their present way of life and many of them did not see fit to adopt recommended farming practices which could have increased their income (24). A study of urban renewal in Vancouver found that although there were no distinctive elements of social control, there was no indication that the residents desired to change existing conditions. Nor did these residents desire more control and direction by civic authorities (288). Another area development project in the same city reported that it was the narrowed expectation of families who knew nothing else which helped to perpetuate the cycle of poverty and social problems (275).

Many of these social-psychological characteristics have been studied in greater detail and are presented here for further consideration. The data concerning these characteristics subsume themselves under the following categories: self-confidence, perception of need, motivation, and verbal facility.

SELF-CONFIDENCE

From their earliest experiences of failure in a middleclass oriented school system, the disadvantaged develop a concept of low self-esteem and a lack of self-confidence (42, 48, 66, 80, 82, 103, 113, 125, 153, 161, 165, 173, 182, 216, 226, 252, 261, 316, 317). A survey of literacy programs (48) identified a number of social and psychological barriers closely connected to a lack of self-confidence including the fear of failure, the fear of school, and the fear of change. Contributing further to the lowering of self-confidence was the loss of employment and the necessity to accept jobs at a level below that which the person had previously achieved. Such a situation produced a feeling of having lost status (277). Furthermore, when an individual lost a job, at first he kept hoping for re-employment but when he finally abandoned hope, he frequently restricted his actions much more than was required. He tended not to leave his own neighbourhood, and his thoughts and aspirations became increasingly narrowed (188).

Closely related to this loss of self-confidence was the development of dependency attitudes (48, 135, 154, 262, 317). The disadvantaged remained largely spectators rather than participants in society. Because a great number were dependent on public assistance, their lives tended to become organized and their behaviour predictable within the operation of that system (78, 150, 156, 238). Dependency might also be attributed to the influence of a matriarchal family structure. In certain segments of the lower class where females were compelled to accept a masculine role through default of the male problems of sexual identification as well as problems of passivity and dependency developed in the children (170). Studies of trainees in the JOBS Project showed that the father played a reduced role even when present as only 10 per cent of the male trainees mentioned their father or some other male figure as the person who was most important or influential. Furthermore, 92 per cent admired their mother very much as compared with 14 per cent expressing the same opinion toward their fathers and 51 per cent stated that they resembled their mothers compared with 29 per cent who identified with their fathers (205).

The lack of self-confidence may result in the acquisition of behaviour patterns which serve to conceal personality deficiencies and which may inhibit individuals from pursuing educational objectives in the adult years (54, 117, 128, 140, 182, 194, 243). Thus, there may be a reluctance to reveal the lack of formal education and there may even be an attempt to hide such deficiency from others including the immediate family (1, 5, 48, 142, 171). Numerous defense mechanisms were noted in observing literacy programs particularly the extent to which the mechanism used by an individual illiterate was directly proportional to his degree of illiteracy (48).

The disadvantaged also possess certain psychological barriers to learning which can be associated with the lack of self-confidence (216, 317). An Illinois study measured the anxiety experienced by adults before enrollment in an educational program and found that 22.3 per cent believed that they would be too dumb, 29.9 per cent believed they could not really learn, and 30.6 per cent believed they would feel foolish (8). A marked improvement in self-concept was noted among adults enrolled in both basic education and participation training programs as a result of a satisfactory learning experience (5, 23, 204, 265).

PERCEPTION OF NEED

The disadvantaged generally display a limited perception of the value of education as a means to personal achievement (16, 21, 23, 70, 77, 104, 108, 128, 140, 142, 150, 164, 172, 238, 244). Moreover, the differential perception of the value of education is a function of socio-economic status (43, 81, 234, 253). In answer to a question about how much schooling was necessary for people to get along in the world, 75 per cent of the middle class respondents compared to 40 per cent of the lower class respondents considered it was desirable for a young man to have more than a high school education (89). In a low-income area of Manitoba, seven out of ten of the farmers who wanted their boys to be farmers, thought that eight grades of school or less was all that was necessary for a man to be a successful farmer (24).

In some instances, the disadvantaged thought highly of education for their children and other young people (48, 192, 248) but adults tended to associate the term "education" with children and did not accept it as a fitting activity for adults, except possibly for those who were foreign born or going to college. The disadvantaged were more apt to accept educational activities that were concerned with or disguised as employment preparation (8, 108, 159). This finding suggested that negative attitudes expressed by the disadvantaged population might be directed more toward the school than toward education itself (50, 95, 108, 194). There was support for the proposition that the disadvantaged adults do not view education in terms of self-realization and do not think of learning as an experience which is rewarding in its own right (70). They were less inclined to turn to adult education for recreational purposes than for purposes of vocational advancement (166, 208). The disadvantaged saw little value in education, when the amount offered as an allowance for training programs in Canada was less than that available through unemployment insurance (137).

Closely associated with the limited perception of the value of education was the limited aspiration for education shown by the disadvantaged (70, 101, 108, 166, 216, 248, 288). The available data indicated that socio-economic status exerts a significant influence on the nature and level of aspirations (81, 89). A direct positive relation exists between the level of aspiration for education and parental social status (263). The aspirations most frequently expressed by the disadvantaged were of an occupational and economic nature (70, 108, 115, 132). In the JOBS Project nine out of ten trainees viewed the project as a means of improving their chances of job success and their main criticism was that the program had failed to fulfill their expectations in this respect. Although it was found that disadvantaged trainees did not appear to reject American goals, values and aspirations and although they aspired to middle class values, there was doubt that such norms applied to them (205).

MOTIVATION

Both the limited perception of the value of education and the limited aspiration for education reduces the motivation to learn and to work in the disadvantaged (5, 154, 316). Indik (159) found that an individual's motivation toward a goal was divided into the following three parts for analysis: his motive toward it, his expectancy of obtaining it, and its present incentive to him. The individual's motivation to avoid an object was divided into the following categories: his motivation to avoid an object or situation, his expectancy of doing so, and his present incentive value of avoiding it. He characterized the unemployed as scoring relatively high on the motive to work, but also scoring moderately high on the expectancy to avoid work. On incentive to work, they achieved a moderate score, and they scored moderately low on incentive to avoid work. In contrast, those not in the labour force scored low on motive to work and high on motive to avoid work.

Socio-psychological factors were important determinants of job seeking behaviour by the unemployed. Regardless of educational level, workers who held values stressing achievement were more likely to start looking for a job than those who placed less importance on such values. On the other hand, over one-half of the individuals studied exhibited a combination of low achievement motivation and high job view anxiety (205).

An extensive survey of literacy programs predominantly attended by women (48) found that the majority were motivated less by vocational interests than by self-improvement and social needs. Those motivated to attend classes because of the need to obtain a job, to retain or to improve their employment status were principally the male members of the group.

VERBAL FACILITY

The lack of verbal facility inhibits communication and frequently prevents the development of wider contacts with the community. The disadvantaged often limit themselves to a distinct style of communication and most under-educated adults prefer to communicate on the non-verbal level because of limited vocabulary and limited skill in articulation (317). The style of learning is not set to respond to oral or written stimuli, and the disadvantaged tend to respond more readily to visual or tactile kinesthetic signals and to make judgments more from actions than words (29, 65, 111, 246). On the other hand, a survey of literacy programs (48) found that one of the effective defense mechanisms used by some illiterate adults to mask their deficiency was an extremely well developed vocabulary and a high degree of verbal facility.

The children of the disadvantaged were handicapped in language development, and in an ability to converse with adults. Lower class parents often did not talk with their children at meal time and it was more common to issue commands than to instruct. Hence, such children were ill prepared for entry into a middle class school system which values verbal facility (56, 105, 112, 171, 209, 246, 300, 301).

In a taxonomy of language usage, Cohen (93) noted that there were four critical areas which suggested that the social reality of the poor was not only different but also incompatible with that reality underlying standard usage:

1) As for perception of time, the hard core poor seem to perceive time as a series of discrete moments each understood in itself, rather than as a continuum.

2) The perception of self in social space is elucidated by the repeated observation that language distributions typically change in the direction of self-references. This suggests that hard core language users perceive themselves to be placed in the center of their social space.

3) Classification schemes and procedures are identified by the dominance of the descriptive as opposed to analytic abstraction mechanisms. The hard core language users respond to the external, sensed characteristics of objects and individuals rather than to their abstract qualities.

4) As for causality, the dominance of categorical combinations of cause and effect, means and end, the actor and the act, the place and its use all suggest that attention is directed to the unique, rather than the persistent and recurring.

The language barrier was found to be particularly marked among immigrants in the Portuguese colony in Toronto where the inability to speak English isolated the immigrant women from other women, and those who worked sought jobs where they did not need to use English (21).

III. SUMMARY

The disadvantaged have the lowest income, the poorest education, the largest families, the highest incidence of ill health, the least chance of employment and little promise of a better future. In addition, the disadvantaged are hampered by certain psychological disabilities including a lack of self-confidence, low self-esteem and a high degree of dependency. Because of their limited perception of the value of education, the disadvantaged display neither aspiration nor motivation to achieve educational goals. Their lack of verbal facility impedes communication with other than their own kind. Consequently, they become outcasts, withdraw further into their own sub-cultural milieu. In time, the relationship between the disadvantaged and others becomes increasingly tenuous so that the possibilities of communication are lessened and the opportunity for community involvement becomes minimal.

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL INTERACTION

Disadvantaged adults respond to their environment in ways that appear to be pre-destined by the socio-economic and social-psychological factors described previously. Yet the disadvantaged are frequently assumed to have motivations, experiences, and desires similar to those in the dominant society, irrespective of the unique influences exerted by the sub-culture in which they function (218). This sub-culture develops its own values which are usually at variance with those of society. Thus, the disadvantaged are rejected by society and they, in turn, reject society (61, 121, 153, 161, 165, 213, 216, 293, 317).

Schneiderman (259) notes that the principal function of the poverty life style is a purely utilitarian one which enables the group to survive. Hence, each element of this distinctive culture has some relevance for the environment in which the members must live out their lives. Consequently, "the task of the lower-lower class person is to evolve a way of life that will reduce his insecurity and enhance his power in ways that do not depend on achievement in the universalistic sector and on command of a rich and sophisticated variety of perspectives" (90).

The values which characterize the poverty sub-culture relate to the perception of certain basic concepts. The dominant culture appears to prefer mastery over nature, while the sub-culture accepts submission to it; the primary culture is oriented to the future whereas the sub-culture is oriented to the moment; and, finally, the dominant culture is success oriented and strives toward a calculated goal, while the poor value the spontaneous activity of "being" rather than "doing"(135, 293).

The perspective of the sub-culture is demonstrated by such groups as the Cree Indians of Quebec who are deeply concerned with present day problems, and unable to perceive the importance of long-range planning associated with effective political, social and economic development. Because of their level of poverty, they must give maximum attention to obtaining a minimum subsistence (83). Thus with perception influenced by immediate need, the disadvantaged view any plan designed for them from the perspective of their own socio-cultural experiences rather than from a larger societal view (78). In addition, the responses of the disadvantaged may not be the expected ones, since these people have been conditioned by a society that has rejected them. This rejection is manifest both in the exercise of discrimination against the disadvantaged, and in their consequent rejection of the values, structures, and opportunities of the larger society.

I. DISCRIMINATION

The personality characteristics of the disadvantaged are accentuated by the response of the dominant society to them. Members of certain racial and ethnic groups are likely to constitute a large proportion of the disadvantaged population, (5, 8, 10, 150, 153, 159, 164, 205, 213, 234, 261, 268, 314), and they are frequently the victims of discrimination which generates in them both a sense of isolation and of persecution. It is a situation especially pronounced for racial minorities (78, 87, 150, 154, 163, 167, 311).

The impact of this variable was disclosed to the American Congress through the 1964 Manpower Report of the President which described the plight of the Negro, the Puerto Rican, the American Indian and other minority groups in the United States. The Report indicated that a much larger proportion of non-white than white youths were leaving the rural areas and their lack of training, coupled with discrimination, resulted in a higher unemployment rate. In 1962, one out of four non-white teenagers in the labour force was unemployed. Moreover, the acquisition of higher educational levels does not assure equal opportunity for entry into the higher job levels (314). A 1961 survey conducted in the United States found that only some 20 per cent of the non-white young persons who graduate from high school have white-collar jobs, while more than 50 per cent of white high school graduates have such jobs (314).

The pattern variables of diffuseness-specificity, affectivity-neutrality, universalism-particularism, and achievement summarize the relationship between the minority and the majority groups in our culture (227). According to Byuarm (78) the variable diffuseness-specificity circumscribes freedom of choice and self-development by minority group members. Affective-neutrality compels the Negroes' habitual deference toward the white, and the coloured minority is permitted only to reflect affective-neutrality feelings in situations which involve the white majority group. The variable universalism is demonstrated in the response shown to minority members. This variable requires that each group take the others' members into consideration only as a standardized member of the category, and not as unique individuals. By the operation of the fourth pattern variable, achievement-ascription, the minority members are often retrained on the basis of ascription, whereas majority members have the benefit of achievement and are judged on the basis of individual abilities.

In terms of their own self-perception, the disadvantaged have no conviction that it is within their power to alter their own circumstances. They are sufficiently realistic to recognize that the larger institutions of society hold the keys to power. If the power of the community is committed to holding them down, there is no possibility of changing their status through their own efforts (135, 167).

With respect to the status of Indians, it is felt that the exertion of authority by the Indian Affairs Branch tends to develop attitudes of dependency, irresponsibility, apathy, submissiveness, and disguised hostility (150, 154). It is only in less developed communities where the white man's standard of income, consumption and schooling are not too high, that the Indians feel confident of being able to compete on a more equal basis (150).

As a result of discrimination, the status of the disadvantaged is generally low and they become stereotyped as substandard individuals (85, 121, 226, 256). They often develop negative self-images and see themselves as having greater differences from others than actually exist (78, 150, 170, 180, 226, 261, 311, 317). In part, the responsibility for this situation must be borne by middle class adults who have perpetuated a number of myths and held certain reservations about the educability of the disadvantaged (8, 108, 196).

The disadvantaged frequently react with suspicion and hostility to overtures from others (216). This insecurity is often displayed either through physical aggression or through lethargy and reticence (182, 243, 317). There is a general distrust of the larger world and its institutions, which are strange and unfamiliar (38, 77, 109, 150, 171, 267, 298). Accordingly, the disadvantaged are less apt to respond to opportunities for further education or training. When race or minority group factors are added to the poverty factor, this rejection is accentuated (78, 150, 261).

The need for increased education for minority ethnic groups was emphasized by Scott (261). These groups may themselves recognize their need for more education, as he indicates in describing his own classmates, graduating from Jordon Senior High School in Los Angeles, by their own term "Les Ameliorants" (The Improvers). Yet of the 550 who had completed the eighth grade, only 97 of the Improvers graduated. The grade point average was 1.8 (D-minus) and the average reading level was sixth grade.

The plight of minority groups in Canada is similar. It is reported that 95 per cent of the Eskimo population lives in abject poverty, with the cash earnings of an average family amounting to less than $500 per year, a meagre sum which must be supplemented by government relief (164). The situation of the Canadian Indian is similar, although not as serious as that of the Eskimo. The Dominion Bureau of Statistics notes that the average income of Canadian wage and salary earners was $3, 192 for the year prior to June 1, 1961, while the average income of Canadian Indians was $1, 661, an amount just over half of the national average and below that required for a minimum standard of living (223). Although an Indian may have acquired the education or skill qualifications for employment, he is subject to stereotype discrimination which also extends to social amenities such as schools or libraries, and to housing (150). Thus, increasing employability through education and training does not automatically result in employment in a society in which ethnic origin is almost as great a barrier to advancement as inadequate preparation. Thus, the disadvantaged condition of some groups such as the Eskimo and the Indian is as much a product of social pressure as of personal shortcomings.

II. PRIMARY RELATIONSHIP

As its response to rejection and discrimination, the poverty sub-culture is inclined to reject the institutional structure of middle-class society and formalized associational contacts. In the poverty sub-culture participation is accomplished through casual, close and often intimate primary group relationships involving small personal kinship, locality or friendship groups (165, 292). The disadvantaged prefer face-to-face contacts and personal communications to impersonal formalistic contacts or abstract communications (3, 5, 14, 48, 101, 200, 244, 284). Hence, personal guidance and counselling can serve an important function in working with the disadvantaged, (3, 8, 11, 15, 26, 48, 96, 172, 194, 199, 232, 275), but existing opportunities are inadequate. Through guidance and counselling, the disadvantaged can be helped to identify their needs, to recognize what is relevant to them, to know existing opportunities, and to be encouraged to participate in programs that offer these people a chance to modify their status (89, 275, 281).

As well as indicating a preference for primary relationships, the disadvantaged place considerable value on kinship ties (4, 21, 83, 122, 130, 170, 205). In a New Brunswick relocation project, the subjects stated that a major consideration in selecting a site for a farm was proximity to relatives (122). Similarly, low-income families in Pennsylvania disclosed that almost all the people they entertained were either members of their immediate family or close relatives. Many of the same homemakers declared that ideas about food or recipes were obtained from a member of their family (4), and relatives have also been named as one of the most effective job-finding sources by semi-skilled workers (205).

Amongst the Cree Indians of Quebec, the extended family system along with other kinship ties present barriers to increased political awareness and action. Under conditions of social and economic stress, these Indians tend to rely on relatives for support, security and assistance (83). In the lower-lower class among the general population such kinship ties are often so close that they conflict with conjugal relations (170). In view of the role of the family in the life of the disadvantaged, there is little chance that they will turn to local community agencies for assistance and so the barriers between themselves and the local resources designed to assist them may be accentuated (64).

III. PARTICIPATION

Existing research shows only a very limited degree of participation in formal associations by the disadvantaged (4, 21, 60, 84, 116, 130, 149, 168, 170, 179, 192, 200, 216, 242, 292). Amongst a group of low-income, rural subjects in Ontario, only 21 of 150 were spending any time at meetings or on community activities (200). On the other hand, it was found that lower class men in urban settings tended to be affiliated with labour unions and other such organizations connected with their work (60, 170). The lack of participation in formal associations is not exclusive to the disadvantaged, as noted in a study in Kentucky (245) where the results revealed that:

1). about 25 per cent of the adults do not belong to any formal organization;
2). urban areas have a higher rate of membership;
3). families with higher education, higher income, higher socio-economic status, and better communication facilities have a higher rate of membership;
4). membership rates increase until about age 45 and decrease sharply after age 70;
5). membership rates and leadership in organizations increase with length of residence in the community;
6). church membership is the most predominant type in rural areas.

The church has been identified as an agency with which the disadvantaged are likely to be affiliated, hence their interests and activities are frequently church oriented (4, 60, 70, 78, 166, 169, 232, 242). But church membership alone may bear little relevance for participation. Of 372 families in a blighted section of Metropolitan Indianapolis, 86.8 per cent of the families indicated that they belonged to some church, nevertheless, only 39.8 per cent maintained regular church attendance, and as few as eight per cent were participants in church clubs or societies (60). It should be noted, however, that a number of the findings which show a high level of church participation relate to Negro subjects, immigrants or specific ethnic groups.

Another indication of participation is the percentage of eligible persons who vote. In the 1964 presidential election, about 45 per cent of all those 18 years of age and over did not vote (245). A similar indifference to political participation was evidenced in Canada where the Cree Indians of a community development project showed little interest in the provincial or federal election process (83). Further, it was estimated that the proportion of Indians who vote is only about two-thirds of the general population (150).

The failure of the disadvantaged to participate in community organizations applies equally to adult education (5, 166, 169, 194, 195, 222). It was shown that intelligence was not a crucial factor. In spite of the prevalent belief that the disadvantaged were already functioning at the upper levels of their intelligence (196) these people were found to have sufficient intelligence for further education (33, 48, 97, 206, 225, 299, 303, 308). A recent and extensive study emphasizes that the factors of education, occupation and income each relate individually to degrees of educational participation, and all three influence the degree of participation differently. Of these factors, education seems to have the greatest impact on the differences in the rate of participation, which ranges from six per cent among those with only a grade school education to 38 per cent among those who went to college. Substantial differences are also encountered when participation is examined by occupation. Participation among the white collar group is 32 per cent compared to 17 per cent among the blue collar group. Amount of income has the effect of substantially increasing participation in each occupational category (166). Ten per cent of the semi-skilled workers participated, while unskilled workers had only five per cent. Those with five to eight years of schooling showed six per cent participation while those with less than five years of schooling showed only two per cent (194, 195).

Farmers from lower socio-economic levels rarely participate directly in programs conducted by the Agricultural Extension Service (101, 296, 297). McBean and Abell surveyed a group of 95 Canadian farmers and found that only seven were utilizing the services available to them from government (200). In British Columbia, fifty to seventy-five per cent of the farmers surveyed had no contact with the District Agriculturist (296). This pattern was consistent with the findings of most studies of farmers' use of information services (39).

Such lack of contact with sources of information was characteristic not only of farmers but also extended to other members of society. In a study of a Boston slum, parents were shown to take very little interest in school and to be ambivalent about education and teachers. Although they felt that education might lead to better jobs they also felt that it changed their children and gave them strange values. However, mothers and fathers often differed in their opinions. While the girl who did well in school was encouraged by her mother as well as by her teachers; the boy who was achieving had to cope with his father's scepticism or opposition. Education was something generally encouraged by mothers, teachers, and society, but not by fathers and other men. Thus, the school might well become the focal point of sex-role conflict for the boy (170).

In Canada since 1961, over a billion dollars have been spent for new vocational training facilities. Yet, with this massive expenditure, there has been a dropout rate of 50 per cent and higher, particularly among unemployed workers. A study conducted in 1965 revealed that only one unemployed worker in fifty was enrolled in a training course (231). Thus, the expansion of technical and vocational training since 1961 has had limited impact among the unemployed and only 3.5 per cent of them were attending training courses at the time of the study (238).

A significant number of Canadian Indians in the 17 to 21 age group are not taking advantage of educational opportunities. In 1949, of 13,770 Indians in that age range, only 58 were enrolled in some form of post-school training. In 1965, the 17 to 21 age group numbered 18,813 and, of these, 1,685 were registered in post-school programs (258). This low participation of Indian subjects in educational programs was not surprising in view of Byuarm's study, which pointed out that in a community where there were super-ordinate-subordinate relations, there was little incentive for the subordinate members to seek formal schooling (78). Clearly, the absence of a precedent for participation in community affairs at a level of equality and across ethnic barriers inhibits involvement.

Adults of lower educational attainment are much less inclined to use the cultural and educational resources of the community than are the better educated. The St. Christopher House study in Toronto (21) noted the inadequate use of community resources by the disadvantaged, a situation attributable to limited involvement in social activities and to unawareness of community resources. This failure to use available programs and resources stemmed from the intellectual isolation of the poor, who tended to be ignorant of the resources and had little intellectual stimulation. An extensive study in the United States indicated that one adult in three simply did not have any knowledge of resources for adults in his community. Persons of low socio-economic status were more likely than those of either middle or high economic status to say that they did not think any facilities for instruction existed in the communities (166). The home was used more extensively by economically superior families while spectator attractions tended to draw the poorer families away from the home (283). In their home environment, there was a fatalistic attitude, little verbal communication, and a lack of belief in long range success so that the children of the poor were often ill prepared to participate in the middle class school system (136).

IV. COMMUNICATION

Wirth (310) states, "If men of diverse experience and interest are to have ideals in common, they must be able to communicate." The inability to communicate presents considerable difficulty for the disadvantaged (4, 12, 21, 62, 78, 83, 93, 108, 169, 192, 211, 225, 292).

In a manpower retraining study in the United States, it was found that difficulties in communication were among the most important factors causing the disadvantaged to forego retraining. To overcome such difficulties the use of demonstration techniques was recommended (62). Similarly, when language barriers occurred in the parent education groups of the St. Christopher House in Toronto, the instruction had to be conducted in pantomime, or through the use of non-verbal demonstrations (21).

In a community where a superordinate-subordinate system of race relations exists, there will probably be no formal channels of communication between the races, and the informal channels will not operate for the exchange of opinion and information on racial issues. Hence, there will be no means to overcome the different perceptions of a community program which in turn will affect its outcome (78). A Canadian study (83) indicated that the Cree Indians of Northern Quebec who followed traditional occupations of hunting and trapping were isolated from regular contacts with others during much of the year. This lack of communication did little to stimulate perception of the relevance of government processes in assisting to solve local problems.

In regard to the mass media, a food buying study in Virginia found that there was relatively little difference in educational status between viewers and non-viewers of television informational programs. There were, however, proportionately more of the "users" of information who had completed one or more years of high school. As far as newspapers were concerned, readership was affected by both level of education and income. In an urban sample, two-fifths (41 per cent) of the non-readers of marketing information for consumers had only an elementary education. Likewise, the use of such information was associated with education and income. From the data, it was apparent that marketing information for consumers over radio and TV reached a somewhat larger proportion of those with limited schooling than did the newspapers which seemed most effective in reaching those with higher levels of education (235).

Among farmers, the channels of communication between the poorer farmer and the principal source of information are blocked because of the low rate of contact between them and the District Agriculturist as noted earlier. Mass media provide a principal source of information but this has been found to be inadequate with respect to action that leads to improving conditions (296, 297).

V. SUMMARY

These studies provide a depressing picture of the relationship between the disadvantaged and society. Largely because of discrimination, the poverty sub-culture is compelled to evolve its own operational way of life. The customary associational contacts of middle class society are not functional for the disadvantaged. Instead, they participate through casual, close, and often intimate primary group relationships which involve small personal kinship, locality or friendship groups. Programs for change or amelioration appear to be doomed to failure if they adhere to established patterns of contact that are unacceptable to and not used by the group for which they are designed.

CHAPTER IV

EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS FOR THE DISADVANTAGED

There is an increased emphasis on general education and vocational training for the disadvantaged in spite of the fact that the disadvantaged adult consistently rejects institutionalized educational programs. Curiously, governments have been willing to spend vast sums on programs but virtually nothing on research (101). Consequently, there is no clear perception of the kinds of educational programs required nor of the form of education which is acceptable to the disadvantaged adult.

An exhaustive search has revealed only twenty-four studies dealing with educational programs for the disadvantaged based on carefully designed research. The results of this research are reviewed here, along with other pertinent material from related studies that contribute to an understanding of program design and development. Among the research reviewed is a descriptive analysis of thirty-five adult literacy programs observed by a four-member team appraising the effectiveness of literacy materials (48).

I. TYPES OF PROGRAMS

The educational programs for disadvantaged adults which have been studied and reported in the research literature are summarized here. Sixteen of the twenty-four studies have dealt with some aspect of literacy and fundamental education, five were concerned with family life and health education, and the remaining three studies were related to vocational training programs. (Table 1).

Literacy Education

The illiterate adult has a primary need for basic skill development in language, reading and simple arithmetic as a foundation for further vocational or social education. In an attempt to overcome the low self-image of the functionally illiterate, Drane (7) studied whether an adult literacy program using Laubach materials, conducted in a hospital, would be more effective when preceded by a program of participation training. Age, reading level and I.Q., as well as the probability of remaining in the hospital were the criteria used for selecting the patients to participate in the study. The two randomly assigned groups attended a total of 45 hours of instruction. The members of Group T received 18 hours of participation training and 27 hours of literacy instruction while Group L received 45 hours of instruction. The members of both groups were given the Nelson Reading Test Form A as a pre-test. After six weeks, the Nelson Reading Test Form B was administered to both groups. At the end of ten weeks, Form A was used again and Form B was repeated at the end of fourteen weeks. After six weeks, mean improvement of Group L was higher than that in Group T but the difference was not statistically significant. Furthermore, there was no significant difference after ten weeks in the improvement of the mean grade level in both groups. The test for retention that was administered after fourteen weeks showed a greater improvement in Group T. Although the re-use of a test battery limited the reliability of subsequent scores, there was a greater degree of retention after fourteen weeks for Group T which had received the participation training, but the difference was not statistically significant.

Henny (12) sought to determine whether individual or group instruction would exert the greater influence on progress in reading performance. He created the Family Phonics System of instruction in an effort to determine the extent to which functionally illiterate adults could increase their reading performance by using a phonic system. Thirty inmates of the Indiana Reformatory were randomly assigned to a control group which received no instruction using phonics but continued in the elementary school; an experimental Group A which received one-to-one reading instruction by the phonic method, and an experimental Group B which received instruction using the phonic method in a group setting were established. Henny found that there was no statistically significant difference in reading gain between those receiving individual instruction or group instruction. After 20 sessions lasting one hour, the illiterate adult in Group A improved his reading ability by as much as 2.5 grade levels through individual instruction, compared with 2.1 grades for those which had received group phonic instruction. There was a statistically significant difference in the gain made by the experimental groups over that made by the control group.

In research conducted at the Draper Correctional Center, McKee (17) tested an experimental group which received 40 hours of reading instruction along with 160 hours of remedial instruction alone. The mean gains in reading level were 2.39 for the experimental group compared to .27 for the control group. In total gain, the experimental group achieved a 1.37 mean grade gain compared to 1.05 for the control group. These differences were statistically significant. McKee (16) reported similar achievement in another study in which the experimental group which received 40 hours of reading instruction achieved an over-all grade level increase of 2.5 compared to 1.1 for the control group which did not. Both of the McKee studies used teaching machines and programmed instruction for the experimental group.

Niemi (19) studied 70 men on an United States Army installation in Alaska. He found an increase of one grade level after 240 hours of intensive

TABLE I

Program Reviewed	Type of Program	Sponsoring Institution	Type of Participation	Methods	Length of Program
1. Allen	Literacy	State Reformatory	enlisted	Class	4 months (448 hrs.)
2. Bertrand	Vocational	State Reformatory		Class & Individual	24 months
3. Brooks	Vocational	College/ U.S. Gov't	voluntary	Class	12 months
4. Wilkes-Barre Study	Family & Health	Co-op Ext. & State Gov't.	enlisted	Individual	6 months
5. Bunger	Literacy	State Government	voluntary	Class & Individual	8 months (49 hrs.)
6. Diebold	Literacy	College		Individual	
7. Drane	Literacy	State Mental Hospital	voluntary	Class	2.5 months (45 hrs.)
8. Illinois Program	Literacy	State Government	enlisted	Class	
9. Feintuch	Vocational	Sheltered Workshop	voluntary	Workshop	14 months
10. Field Test & Eval. ABE Systems	Literacy	Federal, State County Gov'ts	enlisted	Class	4.25 months (262.5 hrs.)
11. Hamilton Study	Family & Health	Prov. & Civic Gov'ts.	enlisted	Individual	6 months
12. Henny	Literacy	State Reformatory	voluntary	Class & Individual	1 month (20 hrs.)
13. Holst	Literacy	TV Station	voluntary	Class & Individual	8 months (40 hrs.)
14. Long	Literacy	City Library Centers	voluntary	Individual & Discussion	10 months

Type of Teacher	Techniques	Devices and Materials	Level of Tests	Number of Participants	Measured Reading Achievement
staff	Review & Pract. Review & Drill	Kinescope Student workbook	Pre-Adult	288/62.5% drop-outs	2.1 grades
	Practice	Teaching Machine			
			Adult & Pre-Adult	200	1.8 grades
		Mailed Cards		2800 enrol. 161 interv.	
volunteer	Review & Practice	Kinescope Student workbook	Pre-Adult	5004 enrol. 243 interv. 57.2% d.o.	below 3.0 grades
	Practice	Programmed text			
		Student workbook	Pre-Adult	30	
staff			Pre-Adult		
	Practice			52	
Pre-service trained staff	instruction, practice, & discussion	Materials from 4 Comm. publishers	Pre-Adult & Adult	1815/36.7% drop-outs	1.5 - 2 grades
Welfare Workers				200	
trained inmate instructors		Student workbook	Pre-Adult	30	1.27 grades
	Review & Drill	Kinescopes Student workbook	Pre-Adult		2.6 grades
trained reading spec.	Practice & Discussion	Books, Films, Filmstrips, Rec.			

TABLE I

Program Reviewed	Type of Program	Sponsoring Institution	Type of Participation	Methods	Length of Program
15. Long Term Assistance	Family & Health	Prov. & Civic Gov'ts.	enlisted	Individual	6 months
16. McKee	Literacy	State Reform & U.S. Gov't	enlisted	Class	2.5 months (40 hrs.)
17. McKee	Literacy	State Reform & U.S. Gov't	enlisted	Class	2.5 months (40 hrs.)
18. New Hope Project	Literacy	College/ U.S. Gov't	enlisted	Class	4 months
19. Niemi	Literacy	U.S. Armed Forces	enlisted	Class	3 months (420 hrs.)
20. Niemi	Literacy	U.S. Armed Forces	enlisted	Class	6 months (240 hrs.)
21. Peerson	Literacy	College/ U.S. Gov't	voluntary	Group & Class	8 months (48 hrs.)
22. Saint Christopher	Family & Health	Neighbours/ Civic Bd. Ed.	enlisted	Group	11 months
23. Schmidt	Family & Health		voluntary		24 months
24. Whittemore	Literacy	Dept. Ed. Univ. Nevada	enlisted	Class	18 months

(1) All the reviewed programs indicated that the goals were institutionally determined.

(2) Programs 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 12, 13, 14, 20 and 21 employed materials designed for the adult level, whereas programs 8 and 10 used both adult and pre-adult materials.

(3) Programs 3, 4, 5, 7, 9, 10, 12, 16 and 24 employed statistical treatment of the evaluation data. The remainder were descriptive evaluations.

Type of Teacher	Techniques	Devices and Materials	Level of Tests	Number of Participants	Measured Reading Achievement
Welfare Workers				200	
		Reading Machine Programmed Inst.	Pre-Adult	33	2.39 grades
		Reading Machine Programmed Inst.	Pre-Adult	58	2.5 grades
			Adult & Pre-Adult	695/24.6% drop-outs	1-3 grades
civilian teachers			Pre-Adult	26	1 - 1.7 grades
civilian teachers		USAFI Texts	Adult & Pre-Adult	288	1 grade
trained volunteer teachers		Kinescope student workbooks	Pre-Adult	608/58.2% drop-outs	1-2 grades
regular staff members				15	
				223	
			Adult & Pre-Adult		

2

instruction. At the same army post, approximately the same progress was recorded for twenty-six men who had formerly been Hungarian Freedom Fighters. After receiving 420 hours of intensive literacy instruction, the students in an upper level class achieved a one grade level increase (19).

The use of television as an adjunct to classroom instruction was studied by station WKNO-TV (13). In this case, Laubach materials were used as the basis for telecasts and the study measured the amount of progress achieved. Through administration of the Metropolitan Achievement Test to a group of 61 students, the following average grade levels of achievement were reported: word picture--2.6; word recognition--2.5; word meaning--2.7; average reading--2.6; numbers--3.1; and average achievement--2.8 grades.

At Ohio State Reformatory, Allen (1) used Laubach literacy films with formal class instruction. The experiment lasted for sixteen weeks with 288 inmates participating in some part of the program. There was an average educational achievement among the total group of 2.1 grades and an average reading achievement increment of 1.7 grades. Among the 108 inmates who participated in the program for the entire sixteen weeks, the total grade increase was 2.5 and the reading gain was 2.1.

Peerson (20) directed an evaluation, at Florence State College, of a literacy program which used the Laubach Kinescopes developed by WKNO-TV along with volunteer teachers at a viewing center. Classes were organized for direct teaching in those areas with poor television reception. Only 254 out of 608 individuals who started the program completed it. Tests developed locally and the Metropolitan Reading Test were used to measure the progress of participants in both the TV and the regular classes. At the end of the program, all participants showed an average grade level achievement of 2.5. Adults in the formal class surpassed the television group by one-half of a grade level.

Bunger (5) evaluated the effectiveness of the Operation Alphabet program in the State of Florida and found that 132 of the 243 adults were still reading at the first grade level or below at the end of the experiment rather than reaching the anticipated achievement level of third grade. One explanation offered by Bunger was that after the twentieth lesson the majority of the adults stopped watching the program on a regular basis. This study also found that adults who studied in groups made greater progress than did those who studied individually.

Crohn (6) reported the Diebold Literacy Project in which programmed instruction designed around the learner's spoken vocabulary was used for individual learning assisted by a literate helper. From developmental testing, it was discovered that the disadvantaged did not learn the isolated words used in the specially prepared materials and that there was a need for contextual support material.

The Reading Center Project (14) in Cleveland lacked an objective evaluation; nevertheless, it reported two significant findings. Person-to-person contact between the reading specialist and the illiterate adult is of paramount importance and there must be an instructional agent to direct the learning process.

The Greenleigh study (8) described the adult basic education program in Illinois and pointed out the deficiencies of programs designed to operate largely within the pre-adult school system. The study also found that in spite of provisions for compulsory participation by welfare recipients, attendance was poor (about one-third of the enrolled students attended during the week sampled), and the drop out rate was considerable.

A second study by Greenleigh Associates (10) was concerned with a field test and evaluation of four selected adult basic education systems. The materials of the four basic systems were selected from the following publishers: 1) American Incentive to Read (AIR); 2) Science Research Associates, Inc. (SRA); 3) Allied Education Council (Mott); and 4) the Follett Publishing Company (Follett). These fundamental education materials were used for seventeen weeks in the instruction of some 1,500 functionally illiterate, public assistance recipients residing in the three states of New Jersey, New York, and California. The participants, who were aged eighteen years of age and over, were taught by trained teachers, college graduates and high school graduates. The study found that there was no significant difference in student gain scores by reading systems, and none of the four systems were able to bring the majority of students from the 4.9 grade level or below to the eighth grade level in seventeen weeks of two and one-half hour daily use. On the average, students progressed between 1.5 and two grades in the three states. Further, classes with certified teachers did not have significant differences in gain scores from the other two categories of instructors.

In a study of city core adult negro illiterates Berke (55) found a cultural difference between the high and low achievers in reading programs. The higher achievers came from families in which there was reading while the low achievers came from families where there had been little reading, and they were now living in situations where there was little reading.

The use of standardized tests to predict academic achievement was described in two studies of basic education programs. In the New Hope Project (18) adults enrolled in a four-month program were tested with instruments intended for use at the pre-adult level. The conclusion of the study that such tests had severe limitations for use with adults was supported by Whittemore (23) who made an eighteen-month study of the validity and reliability of standardized tests for use with adults in basic education.

Vocational Training

In a study of the effects of counselling and general education on vocational training at the Norfolk Demonstration Research Project (3), 200 adults were divided into the following groups:

1) Intensive general education and technical training with counselling;
2) Technical training and counselling but no general education;
3) Counselling but no general or technical education;
4) Counselling if solicited but no general or technical education.

The effectiveness of the four program variables was measured by the ultimate employment of the members of each group. Groups one and two had a higher proportion of group members employed than did the remaining two. Group one had the highest rate of employment, salaries and greatest job satisfaction of any of the groups. Since some of the evaluation procedures used to assess differences among the four groups were subjective rather than objective, the validity of the results of this experiment are questionable.

A study in Montreal by Feintuch (9) evaluated the effectiveness of an integrated program involving vocational counselling casework and a sheltered workshop to increase employability and to modify attitudes of 52 unemployed adults who were difficult to place. The study found that the average number of days employed after participation in the workshop compared with before, produced a mean increase of 89.25 days per year which was a statistically significant difference. This indicated the positive value of the workshop in qualifying previously unemployable adults for increased employment.

Observations on programmed instruction at the Texas Department of Corrections revealed that the majority of the Inmates preferred programmed learning over conventional instruction (2).

Family and Health

A personal approach to changing behaviour through the use of intensive counselling was tried in a number of places. In studies conducted in Toronto (15) and Hamilton (11) such intensive counselling by welfare caseworkers resulted in a greater number of welfare recipients becoming independent, so that more of their cases were closed than occurred among those who did not receive counselling. In North Carolina, the counselling provided 223 volunteers in the Family Planning Program over a two-year period resulted in no pregnancies (22).

In the St. Christopher House study (21), the value of small group meetings was demonstrated. A group of mothers attended bi-monthly meetings on nutrition and reported that the greatest value to them was the opportunity to get together and discuss mutual problems. On the other hand, a study in Pennsylvania (4) found that women with low income and reading deficiencies were not influenced by written materials to adopt new food habits.

II. ANALYSIS OF THE PROGRAMS

These twenty-four research reports suggest both the limited scope of current remedial education programs for disadvantaged adults and the inadequacy of substantive research in this field. An analysis of the studies reviewed here provides some clues to the problems encountered in planning and conducting programs for this particular population. The research studies are supplemented by observations by Barnes and Hendrickson (48) and by Cass (82) in descriptive reports of adult basic education programs.

Because of the scarcity of research, it is risky to generalize from the data itself. In only nine of the twenty-four studies is there any attempt to apply statistical tests to some of the data. (Table 1). Too often, the data presented is merely descriptive and the evaluation subjective. Too often, the chief concern is to establish programs and no provision is made for analytical evaluation which could undoubtedly benefit other program planners.

Planning

The program areas reported appear to be those determined exclusively by the superordinate majority in their notion of what is most necessary for upgrading disadvantaged adults. In all of the studies, the stated objectives of the programs were those of the sponsoring institution and no reference was made to participant involvement in the determination of needs or the establishment of goals. This procedure is hardly one which will induce voluntary participation by the disadvantaged. Barnes and Hendrickson (48) reported that in no classroom did observers see participants enter into the planning of the program and there appeared to be a complete acceptance of the instructor's direction by the disadvantaged. This acceptance was attributed to a sense of inadequacy in the area of reading which promotes a submissiveness common to lower reading groups. In addition, there was an absence of short-range objectives stated concisely in behavioural terms. In only two of the 35 programs were the observers able to find a set of specific written objectives to guide the program. It was reported that those teachers who discerned the importance of recognizing student objectives appeared to have more success.

At least one-third of the remedial programs (Table 1) were conducted by institutions which could exert a measure of coercion. Five of the studies were conducted within the setting of state reformatories, two at an army education center, and one within a state mental hospital. A number of the remedial educational programs which were financed by federal or state monies had compulsory provisions for the enlistment of participants. Such compulsion, may in effect, create negative attitudes towards future educational programs.

The remedial programs ranged from 1 to 24 months in length with a median of six month's duration and a mean of 8.4 months. The total number of hours for each program varied considerably from a minimum of 20 hours to a maximum of 448 hours. Considering their limited time perspective and their proneness to live and work to fulfill immediate needs, the disadvantaged seem unlikely to be committed to programs of lengthy duration. A drop out rate of more than half of the participants was noted in a number of studies. (Table 1). Moreover, an extended length seemed of little benefit in regard to the improvement of reading skills. The reading scores ranged from one to 2.6 grades on post-tests, and in three of the literacy programs of the shortest duration, the grade achievement in reading was approximately 2.1 grades compared with 1.9 grades for the longer programs.

Methods and Techniques

The data indicated that the sponsoring institutions showed a distinct preference for classes. (Table 1). In at least eleven of the studies, the learners were organized in classes while in five, the class was combined with some other method. Although the class method dominates adult public night school programs and university evening extension programs (294) it may not be an acceptable method for the disadvantaged (31, 162, 243). The characteristics of the disadvantaged population discussed in Chapter II indicate a general rejection of the formal structures of the dominant society, yet in no case was evidence presented to indicate an awareness of this characteristic. Clearly, the class method is not one which would be generally acceptable to a group that prefers more personal and intimate relationships.

There was scant reference to the instructional procedures used. Those described were chiefly review, practice, and drill. (Table 1). One study in adult basic education (31) found that the instructional processes consisted for the most part of traditional classroom lectures by staff, followed by student recitation. In successful programs, teachers realized that the techniques used in dealing with pre-adult students were not necessarily appropriate to use with adults (48). Hand and Puder (146) identified several distinct techniques common to literacy programs including:

1) The global technique, which is an application of Gestalt psychological theory, provides for the logical progression from whole to parts. This technique makes use of stories or sentences which a participant learns to read at sight. Then the sentences are studied independently, and, finally, the words. The weakness lies in the fact that the learner may later experience difficulty in reading unrecognized and unfamiliar words because of limited word "attack" experience.

2) The synthetic technique is a mode directly opposed to the global technique in that the learner begins with a study of the parts. He first learns letters followed by words, sentences and paragraphs. This rote learning of letters and words often becomes appallingly dull to the adult participant, and frequently his oral reading assumes a persistent monotone.

3) The analytic-synthetic technique combines the better portions of both the global and synthetic techniques. However, the "shotgun" approach to letter, word, and sentence attack may tend to confuse the learner, and the instructor may forget to use significant portions of both techniques during the training session, so that technique "blanks" may occur.

4) The eclectic technique is an amalgam of the three previously described applied approaches and is used most often in connection with literacy problems of reading, writing, and calculation skills. The weakness probably lies in its indecisive attack on the teaching problems of literacy classes.

5) The Bloomfield Technique, or Linguistic Approach, is an application of Rudolph Flesch's theories: "Teach the student what each letter stands for and he can read" and a more systematized and modern version of the Laubach Method. Meaning is disregarded in favour of emphasis upon an immediate sound/letter relationship, and the first concern is to teach the participant to know and understand the characters of the alphabet in order that he will realize that "speech is recorded by means of written or printed signs." There is a noted lack of emphasis on comprehension, and many adults with wide ranges of experience find the technique dull and meaningless.

6) The William S. Gray technique, which is also an application of the Laubach method, involves six primary steps. These include: 1) the establishment of rapport with the student; 2) the writing of the name of the student on the board and having him copy it there; 3) the sending of the student to his desk where he traces his name with his fingers; 4) the discussion of the two types of writing: manuscript and cursive, and the reasons for their use; 5) the writing of short phrases on the board so that students may copy them and later trace them at their desks; 6) and finally proceeding to cursive writing, a phrase at a time, a sentence at a time, a paragraph at a time, accompanied by reading activities. The weakness lies in its tendency to frustrate the learning potential of the student by too stringent demands upon his learning capacity, intellectual level, and co-ordination of his psychomotor skills.

Only three studies mentioned discussion as a technique used in the instructional situation, a fact which is surprising in view of the demonstrated value of discussion in modifying attitudes and values (316). Furthermore, discussion would be better suited to the primary group characteristics preferred by the disadvantaged adult.

The management of instruction was frequently in the hands of educational agents who had little or no specialized training for dealing with their disadvantaged clientele. Only four of the programs (Table 1) made specific reference to trained instructors, and in one of these studies the specialized training amounted to no more than five hours for volunteer teachers. Barnes and Hendrickson (48) also found that most public school literacy programs had an orientation period for the teachers of five to ten hours in length, and that this time was devoted mainly to administrative matters. By contrast, the teacher training in volunteer programs consisted of from two to five days of formal training followed by a period of internship in a classroom.

Reliance on regular staff members, untrained volunteers, and teachers with pre-adult experience appeared to be a common practice (8, 31, 48). Without some specific training it seems unlikely that instructors will understand the behavioural patterns of the disadvantaged or be able to prescribe any special forms of educational treatment (29, 48, 100, 101, 316, 317). Motivation to teach adults and flexibility of instructional behaviour were identified as two of the qualities common among the best teachers in adult literacy programs (48).

Materials and Aids

A great deal of emphasis in the literacy programs was placed upon the use of instructional aids. (Table 1). The Laubach Kinescopes and student work books were used in the three television literacy programs and in one of the reformatory studies. Student work books alone were used by participants in the mental hospital study. Henny (12) developed a student guide for use in his phonics system of instruction. Other devices and materials used in the remedial educational programs included reading and teaching machines, filmstrip and records, mailed information cards, and programmed texts. Another review (48) found that, frequently, the materials rather than carefully formulated objectives seemed to give direction to the program. Materials by themselves will not solve the literacy problem but should, in fact, be regarded as only part of a total program strategy.

Some of the programs were operating almost exclusively with material from the elementary and secondary school program and if objectives were conceived mainly in terms of skill inculcation, then the need for better materials was not strongly expressed. Further, in the majority of the programs the teachers and the administrators were rarely aware of any specific adult materials. It was also found that teacher prepared materials were an essential part of any effective adult basic education program (48, 317). Moreover, it was considered important that materials be concerned with everyday matters and about subjects of local interest (48). In much of the programmed learning material, the problem of maintaining motivation was critical because the procedure became boring and the students preferred the interaction which occurs in a person-to-person instructional situation (48).

Contrary to a common generalization that materials written in conversational style were more effective for students in adult basic education, Cortright (99) found there was no statistically significant difference in the comprehension of students using materials written in expository, conversational, and interrogative styles. Higher scores were, however, generally obtained by participants using materials written in the expository style and it was the style more generally preferred by the teachers. A questionable aspect of the experiment was the fact that the topics selected such as the atomic bomb, the abominable snowman, a visit to Washington, D.C. and professional baseball, lend themselves more to expository treatment.

In a study evaluating three systems for teaching adult reading skills (272) it was found that a linguistic system was significantly more effective than the auditory-visual system in the teaching of reading rate, but no significant difference was found in any of the other skills. It was also found that the age level group below the mean age of 37.8 years made significantly greater reading gains than the age level group above the mean.

Although most of the materials used in the programs had been developed expressly for adult use (Table 1), such was not the case with the testing devices. These were almost exclusively pre-adult tests which have been developed for and standardized with middle-class children. (Table II). In spite of this fact, such tests were frequently used for both placement and evaluative purposes. There is a critical need to develop adult test instruments if more effective and purposeful evaluation is to be achieved.

A review of materials (48) indicated that almost without exception the tests used for placement had norms based on elementary and secondary school populations. Two methods were generally used to measure the achievement of students in literacy classes. Standardized tests were used most often but tests made up by the instructional staff were also used. The most common goal of instruction in the literacy programs was training students to pass an "eighth grade equivalency" examination.

Program Evaluation

Barnes and Hendrickson (48) reported that in most of the programs observed, systematic evaluation was not being carried out. The criterion of success of a program used in a number of instances was the percentage of students who achieved the particular grade equivalency standard set for the program. The other common criterion of success was the holding power of the program, in terms of average daily attendance, and in some instances it was difficult to maintain an average daily attendance of 30 per cent or better. This is scarcely an impressive measure of success.

There was a reluctance to use standardized tests initially with illiterates based on the assumption that such testing created extreme anxiety on the part of the adult and might frighten him away. Paper and pencil tests, particularly those with IBM score sheets, were found to be threatening to the functionally illiterate adult (10). It was recommended that testing of a formal nature be gradually introduced. Informal evaluation was accorded an important role in placement, curriculum planning, and evaluation for promotion or graduation (48, 76, 317). Further, it was found that if tests were used with adult illiterates, the material should be visually simple and uncomplicated; the directions should be uncomplicated; each series of items should be exampled

TABLE II TEST INSTRUMENTS

Programs	Tests Used	Date of Test Construction	Basis of Standardization	Type of Test	Appropriate Grade or Age Levels
1. Allen	Metropolitan Achievement	1931 - 1964	school pupils	Achievement	Grades 1.5 - 12
	Stanford Achievement	1923 - 1956	school pupils	Achievement	Grades 1.9 - 9
3. Brooks	Army Revised Beta Examination	1931 - 1957	white male prison inmates	Intelligence	Grades 7 - 12 & Ages 16 - 59
	General Aptitude Test Battery	1946 - 1958	adult workers	Aptitude	Ages 16 & over
	Gates Reading Survey	1939 - 1960	school pupils	Reading	Grades 3 - 10
	SRA Arithmetic	1954 - 1964	school pupils	Achievement	Grades 1 - 9
5. Bunger	Gilmore Oral Reading	1951 - 1952	school pupils	Oral Reading	Grades 1 - 8
7. Drane	Gray Oral Reading Test	1963	school pupils	Oral Reading	Grades 1 - 16 & adults
	Nelson Reading Test	1931 - 1962	school pupils	Reading	Grades 3 - 9
8. Illinois	Iowa Every Pupil Reading Test	1940 - 1945	school pupils	Achievement	Grades 3 - 9
10. Field Test and Evaluation	Bender Motor Gestalt Test	1938 - 1946		Projective Character and Maturational	Ages 4 and over
	Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale (WAIS) Vocabulary List	1939 - 1955	adults	Intelligence	Ages 16 & over
	Gray Oral Reading Test	1963	school pupils	Oral Reading	Grades 1 - 16 & adults
	Iowa Tests of Basic Skills	1955 - 1956	school pupils	Achievement	Grades 3 - 9
	Lorge-Thorndike Intelligence Test	1954 - 1957	school pupils	Intelligence	Kgn - Grade 12

Programs	Tests Used	Date of Test Construction	Basis of Standardization	Type of Test	Appropriate Grade or Age Levels
11. Henny	Gates-McKillop Reading Diagnostic Tests	1926 - 1962	school pupils	Reading (oral and written)	Grades 2 - 6
	Gray Standardized Oral Reading Paragraph Test	1915		Oral Reading	Grades 1 - 8
13. Holst	Metropolitan Achievement Test	1931 - 1964	school pupils	Achievement	Grades 1.5 - 12
16. McKee	Metropolitan Achievement Test	1931 - [illegible]	school pupils	Achievement	Grades 1.5 - 12
17. McKee	Metropolitan Achievement Test	1931 - 1964	school pupils	Achievement	Grades 1.5 - 12
18. New Hope Project	California Achievement Test	1934 - 1958	school pupils	Achievement	Grades 1 - 14
	California Test of Mental Maturity	1936 - 1957		Intelligence	Kindergarten to Grade 16 & adults
	Gates Reading Survey	1939 - 1960	school pupils	Reading	Grades 3 - 10
	General Aptitude Test Battery	1946 - 1958	adult workers	Aptitude	Ages 16 & over
	Revised Beta Examination	1931 - 1957	white male prison inmates	Intelligence	Grades 7 - 12 & Ages 16 - 59
19. Niemi	California Achievement Test	1934 - 1958	school pupils	Achievement	Grades 1 - 14
20. Niemi	Army General Classification Test	1940 - 1960	adult soldiers	Intelligence	Grades 9 - 16 & adults
	California Achievement Test	1934 - 1958	school pupils	Achievement	Grades 1 - 14
	High School General Education Develop. (Iowa Tests of Educational Development)	1942 - 1963	school pupils	Achievement	Grades 9 - 13

TABLE II TEST INSTRUMENTS (CONT'D)

Programs	Tests Used	Date of Test Construction	Basis of Standardization	Type of Test	Appropriate Grade or Age Levels
21. Peerson	Metropolitan Reading Test	1932 - 1962	school pupils	Reading Achievement	Grades 2 - 9
24. Whittemore	California Psychological Inventory	1956 - 1957	high school students	Personality Inventory	Ages 13 and over
	California Test of Mental Maturity (Level 3)	1936 - 1957		Intelligence	Grades 7 - 8
	Differential Aptitude Test (Form L)	1947 - 1958	school pupils	Aptitude	Grades 8 - 12
	Henmon Nelson Test of Mental Ability	1931 - 1958	school pupils	Intelligence	Grades 9 - 12
	Iowa Silent Reading	1927 - 1943	school pupils	Reading	Grades 4 - 13
	Kuder Preference Record--Vocational (Form CH)	1934 - 1960	school pupils	Interest Battery	Grades 9 - 16 & adults
	Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory	1942 - 1951		Personality	Ages 16 & over
	Otis Quick Scoring Beta Test	1937 - 1954	school pupils	Intelligence	Grades 4 - 9
	Revised Beta Examination	1931 - 1957	white male prison inmates	Intelligence	Grades 7 - 12 & Ages 16 - 59
	Sequential Test of Educational Progress (Level 3)	1956 - 1958	school pupils and college students	Achievement	Grades 4 - 14

by the use of several examples; and the tests should not be timed (55).

III. SUMMARY

The specific program research which has been reviewed was concerned chiefly with matters relating to instruction. Although such research is important, the more fundamental problem is that of overcoming resistance to education which is so characteristic of the disadvantaged. The rejection of the institutionalized patterns of education by the disadvantaged, as noted previously, is indicative of the need to discover new patterns which will be acceptable. None of the research has been concerned with that matter. Secondly, there has been no clear appreciation of precisely which characteristics of the disadvantaged are most amenable to permanent change, and which means will exert the most effective leverage on their total pattern of living. There is still the need to redefine the problems in terms of cultural change if programs are to be directed towards more workable strategies and more viable results (135).

At the best, the studies reviewed here verify the potentialities for further education and training of the disadvantaged and suggest that personalized instruction is most effective. The studies provide very few clues to the design of the programs and to the selection of content.

CHAPTER V

IMPLICATIONS FOR PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT

As yet, attempts to ameliorate the situation of the disadvantaged have been noticeably piecemeal and unsuccessful (135, 216). Welfare programs alone have indicated their inadequacy because they do little more than maintain existence at a subsistence level and fail to cope with the basic causes of disadvantage. There is some indication, however, that education may offer a solution to the problem. Educational programs can be directed toward altering the situation of the disadvantaged adult but to do so, a different conception of educational programming must be effected and the barriers which inhibit the participation of the disadvantaged must be overcome.

I. BARRIERS

There are certain identifiable barriers which inhibit any programs to alter the situation of the disadvantaged population. These barriers lie both in the larger society and in the disadvantaged sub-culture. Altering one without simultaneously changing the other will not successfully resolve the problem of disadvantage.

Societal Barriers

The disadvantaged constitute a minority group subjected to the exercise of prejudice directed toward them by a superordinate group which inhibits the participation of the disadvantaged in the on-going organized life of the community. Because of prejudice, they do not have ready access to educational and employment opportunities through which to alter their status. Thus, prejudice is a major societal barrier that must be overcome through the education of the larger society in order that it might understand its role in the creation and maintenance of the disadvantaged sub-culture (78, 86, 87, 121, 131, 135, 167, 216). Further, it is important that the influentials of local, community power structures be convinced from the beginning of the value of remedial programs if they are to succeed (48). For that matter, it seems that a total community involvement is necessary in order to overcome the formidable array of societal barriers (121, 135, 317). Since economic insufficiency is a major factor in producing a disadvantaged status (61, 123, 148, 216) it is particularly important that prejudices in employment opportunities be removed through legislation and/or education (78, 86, 131, 206, 303). The disadvantaged worker can be trained to perform skilled tasks in a short period of time so that his lack of skill is not a justifiable reason for failing to employ him (108, 206). His deficiency is sometimes cited as a means to obscure the more basic problem of discrimination induced by prejudice.

Of equal importance to the barrier of prejudice are those barriers erected by the educational system itself (86). Although they are not directed specifically at the disadvantaged as is prejudice, they nevertheless create impediments. The educational barriers stem largely from concepts of education and training held by educators serving the superordinate group in society (86, 101). Frequently, there is a lack of awareness or refusal on the part of educators to recognize the existence of barriers facing disadvantaged students (48). The educational system has been developed to preserve the values of the middle class, and it lacks sufficient flexibility to function effectively with the disadvantaged who cannot meet the expectations of a system tailored for mass rather than individual development (48, 153). If the educational system is to change to meet the needs of the disadvantaged, it will be necessary to introduce innovations in the pattern of organization, the curriculum, and the mode of instruction. Otherwise it may be necessary to provide education and training outside of the established school system.

Sub-cultural Barriers

As victims of a situation in which they recognize themselves to be outnumbered and without power, the disadvantaged have withdrawn from society and established their own sub-cultural system (78, 86, 135). This reinforces the isolation of the disadvantaged and promotes the development of a value system that is at variance with the superordinate values. The resultant alienation and powerlessness of the sub-cultural group promotes listlessness and futility so that the group is characterized by a low level of aspiration and a lack of motivation (5, 16, 70, 108, 216). In their sub-cultural environment, the disadvantaged see no future that differs significantly from the present; consequently, they are interested only in those pragmatic concerns related to survival at the subsistence level (208). The school system is oriented to future success rather than present survival so that the disadvantaged reject education and remain unaware of educational opportunities and facilities (166, 249). Furthermore, their past experiences with school have created negative attitudes toward school as an institution and toward education as a means of improving their lot (153, 194).

By withdrawing into their own group and rejecting the institutional structure of society, the disadvantaged become unduly dependent. They rely upon the development of strong kinship and other primary group ties, which in turn inhibit the establishment of relationships with the superordinate group (83). This tendency restricts their understanding of the processes of society so that the disadvantaged cannot profitably use political means to help end their dependency (83, 150, 245). In addition, isolation breeds insecurity, timidity and fear which result in a reluctance to change (54, 78, 110). Although withdrawn, the disadvantaged are not unaware of their status in the larger society and in self-protection, they develop a strong group pride that makes it difficult for them to admit to educational deficiencies (1, 48, 142, 172).

Although these characteristics of the disadvantaged are real barriers to change, it is possible to alter them. To do so, the disadvantaged must become aware of the value of educational programs, develop a perception of their need for learning (70, 81, 110), and a consciousness of their own educational handicaps and deficiencies (108). These ends cannot be accomplished easily because communication with the disadvantaged is difficult. Written materials are ineffective (4, 80, 169, 235) because these people are illiterate; and even though they listen to radio or watch television (5, 58, 235, 245), they also tend to reject impersonal communication. Face-to-face personalized contacts are the most effective way of communicating with the disadvantaged (3, 5, 48, 156, 303).

Successful experience with education is one way to convince the disadvantaged of the personal value of further learning. To provide such successful experiences requires the planning and conduct of educational programs specifically geared to the characteristics and expectations of the disadvantaged.

II. EDUCATIONAL PLANNING

The characteristics of the disadvantaged and their response to situations and conditions as discussed previously provide clues to planning educational and training programs that will both meet their needs and be acceptable to them. These are discussed below in terms of communication, content, and the organization and conduct of the program.

Communication

Since the disadvantaged sub-culture has its own communication system for identification and protection, the normal channels used among superordinate group members are not suitable for communicating with the disadvantaged. The high rate of illiteracy and the generally low reading level of the disadvantaged preclude any effective communication through printed materials such as newspapers or bulletins. Radio and television are found to be somewhat more effective in diffusing information (58, 235, 245). The disadvantaged are more aware of the information disseminated by these media, but they are rarely, if ever, induced to take action as may be suggested by the message. Such failure to take action is attributable partly to the abstract and impersonal nature of the media and partly to the kind of action proposed in the message. If it suggests enrolling in night classes, the message is rejected because the disadvantaged reject the institutional structure. Thus, if the message is to be accepted and lead to action it must be concrete, personal and consistent with the behavioural patterns of the sub-culture. If these conditions are met, there is no reason to believe that radio and television cannot effectively reach the disadvantaged.

The medium of communication with the greatest likelihood of success is personal communication either on a one-to-one basis or with small natural groupings (3, 5, 292, 316). As shown earlier, intensive counselling (11, 15, 21) and small group sessions (7, 204, 265, 316) were notably effective in changing behaviour. If suitable educational and training programs are established, the disadvantaged may be induced to participate through personal contacts (3, 5, 303, 316). In a tight homogeneous group such as the poverty culture, messages fed into one part of the system through personal contact will spread slowly through the system by word of mouth, but the message must be simple and not readily subject to distortion. Communicating through small groups may be faster and certainly less subject to modification, but the groups must be natural rather than artificial. In any case, the message will evoke the desired response only if the action specified is itself acceptable and meaningful to the disadvantaged.

The language of the sub-culture differs from that of the primary culture. This difference is largely a matter of word meanings; consequently, in order to insure that the desired meaning is conveyed, it is necessary to determine the vocabulary appropriate to the sub-culture. Furthermore, the sub-culture uses non-verbal communication extensively so that this must be understood and used where appropriate (21, 29, 65). Television lends itself to such non-verbal communication as cartoons which should be effective in communicating simple but specific messages.

III. CONTENT AREAS

The socio-economic characteristics of the disadvantaged suggest areas of program content which would be particularly useful. It would be a serious mistake, however, to regard any program area discussed here as prescriptive. At most, they are only suggestive because the disadvantaged themselves must be involved in developing programs which are relevant to their own needs. Too frequently, the content of remedial programs has been dictated solely by the institutions of the superordinate majority.

Basic Education

The high proportion of illiterates and functional illiterates among the disadvantaged indicates a need for competence in the basic skills of reading, writing, and simple computation since these are prerequisite to most other areas of education. As has been shown, many disadvantaged adults do not possess even the minimum level of education required to qualify them for entry into vocational or job-training programs (21, 238, 245). In this connection, however, the existing educational prerequisites for vocational training need to be re-examined in realistic terms. There is no evidence to indicate that the minimum prerequisite as established at present is actually valid. The disadvantaged adult can learn many vocational manipulative skills without first acquiring the high level of education presently required for semi-skilled occupations. Existing prerequisites for vocational training probably date from an earlier era when only high calibre workers were hired for industrial production.

Vocational Education

The fact that the disadvantaged adult frequently displays an interest in vocationally oriented goals would designate this area as significant for both rural and urban people. At the present time, although job opportunities for the unskilled and semi-skilled worker are diminishing proportionately, there are expanding opportunities in the service industries (191, 205, 229). These may indeed provide acceptable alternative sources of employment providing the jobs are not below the level which a worker had previously achieved (108). Pearl and Riessman (229) have suggested the development of four to six million careers in the United States for the poor in the helping professions such as social work, teaching, recreation, and health service. Their "new" career concept would immediately provide meaningful work for the disadvantaged, by hiring the poor and unemployed to serve the poor, as well as providing for mobility from low-skill entry jobs to more advanced levels of work. Already the Westinghouse Learning Corporation is operating a program whereby men are hired for entry level jobs at slightly over $2.00 an hour, and in addition to their regular duties, these men are trained for two hours a day for a 52 week period to fit these employees for more skilled work (303).

With the progression of automation and cybernation, there is the constant confrontation of technological unemployment (282). Since it is now estimated that a worker will have to be retrained three or four times during the course of his working years, the need for vocational and job retraining programs becomes obvious if the individual is to maintain his employability. This is a problem of particular relevance to the young worker with his working life ahead of him (164, 194, 284).

Family Life Education

Since the disadvantaged generally show a marked preference for intimate, primary group relationships, family life education would seem to be an area for consideration and exploration in program development. It is already obvious that poverty is self-perpetuating and may involve generation after generation in its cycle. It is also evident that disadvantaged families often have as many as five or more children. Such large families in themselves doubtless constitute a considerable if not overwhelming economic burden. Family planning would seem to be one of the areas of imperative need for the disadvantaged (22, 238, 258).

If disadvantaged parents are given help to understand the complexities of family life and the extent of parental responsibilities, then some benefits will no doubt accrue to disadvantaged children. Recent evidence indicates that it is the home setting which is crucial in establishing the child's attitudes toward learning. It is these home-established attitudes which largely affect the subsequent pattern of learning in schools and provide the opportunity for the development of effective communication through contact with an adult level of conversation (56, 125, 170, 209, 246, 266, 267). For these full family responsibilities, both husbands and wives often need extensive parent education programs. The advent of automation may certainly make possible the more equitable sharing of these family responsibilities between husband and wife. As the husband's working time decreases, he should have more time for family and home activities (201).

Homemaker Education

The home also bears the major responsibility for providing for an adequate level of nutrition and maintaining a satisfactory standard of health and child care. To fulfill these responsibilities as well as to perform housekeeping and home management with competence, the disadvantaged women require information and training in homemaking skills (21, 127, 235, 245).

Consumer Education

Since the disadvantaged earn inadequate incomes, there is a pressing need for them to get a maximum return for their consumer dollars. Suitable educational programs are required to provide the disadvantaged with an understanding of the consumer market, credit operations and the competence to deal with financial matters (24, 101, 164, 235).

Health Education

A study of the characteristics of the disadvantaged members of society reveals a general low level of health and a minimal use of existing agencies and facilities. Although legislative acts may be employed to provide free or low cost services, there still remains the necessity to educate the disadvantaged as to their availability and most effective use. There is also the need to understand the importance of preventive health and dental care and a basic knowledge of nutrition (44, 198, 245, 281).

Leisure Education

With the advance of automation and cybernation, there is much likelihood of a significant increase in the amount of available leisure time, especially for the lower-skilled workers. Coupled with the possibility of the payment of a guaranteed annual income, the two might constitute the ingredients of serious social disorder. The work ethic has been firmly implanted in our society (9) and there is evidence to indicate that lower socio-economic groups are the least eager to anticipate the possibility of increased leisure time (283). The role of passive spectators is unlikely to be satisfactory as an outlet for aggressive energies formerly released by work (9). There is also a growing number of aged people in our society who are not involved in work. The challenge is posed for developing recreational programs which will engage the interest, develop the talents, and release the energies of the disadvantaged in a creatively satisfying manner. This area of programming might very well be of greater long range societal significance than that type of vocational training which merely leads to the unsatisfactory solution of dead-end jobs.

Citizenship Education

An obvious characteristic of the disadvantaged is their alienation from participation in the organization life which typifies middle class society. Aside from some involvement in the church and labour unions, participational rates are minimal. If the disadvantaged are to achieve a fuller measure of the benefits of society, they should be provided with opportunities to realize their potential as vocal and voting citizens. Since there is evidence to indicate that the disadvantaged are largely relationally oriented in their conceptual style, the actual involvement in community action programs may best serve the purpose of citizenship programs. In these community action programs they should be called upon to think about and take initiative in solving some of their own problems. This would call for citizenship participation in a functional way (78, 131, 135, 150, 213).

IV. CONTENT SELECTION

The consuming preoccupation with survival at the subsistence level by the disadvantaged adult clearly indicates that the content selected in the areas outlined above must be functional and immediately relevant to the problems of the individuals involved. Thus, educational and training programs conducted for disadvantaged adults must center on their needs rather than on content per se. This is a departure from the norm of similar programs conducted for the superordinate group in which the content is dictated by some supposed inherent logic. The disadvantaged require and will accept only that learning which is completely practical and immediately applicable to their own situation. Learning which is directly related to economic problems is more acceptable than any other (8, 108, 316). Without such relationship of the content to economic goals, there is little chance that the disadvantaged will participate. Among the young particularly, the goals are vocational so that content should be geared to that end (107).

V. ORGANIZATION AND CONDUCT

The disadvantaged adults reject the abstract impersonal institutionalized structure of society; (292) consequently, they reject the school as an agency for further learning. In addition, their own prior experiences in the school which were such as to induce them to drop out reinforces their rejection of the school. Any efforts to persuade the disadvantaged adult to "return to school" inevitably meets with failure. In view of this, then, the school is not the locus for initial educational programs for the disadvantaged. After some satisfactory experiences with learning in a more acceptable setting, it may be possible to reintroduce the disadvantaged to the school building.

There are other physical facilities in a community, particularly in the immediate area of the disadvantaged, which are less objectionable than is the school and these should be used for basic education and training programs. Since the church is acceptable, such facilities as church halls and basements would provide a suitable setting. Union halls, community centers and neighbourhood houses might also be appropriate. At the moment, school systems are not attuned to the conduct of education outside of the school building because of administrative inexperience and/or indifference to the needs and culture of the disadvantaged. Government regulations governing further education and training also tend to inhibit more functional approaches. Both these factors constitute barriers that interfere with suitable program development.

Furthermore, regulations and administrative practice require larger instructional groups than are suited to the disadvantaged sub-culture. Such groups are ad hoc structures representing the characteristics in the larger society which the poverty sub-culture rejects. Smaller natural or autonomous locality groups are better suited to the sub-cultural milieu of the disadvantaged as these permit more personalized communication and interpersonal contacts.

The instructional processes used in ordinary educational situations are appropriate for a mass culture but they are rejected by the poverty sub-culture as too impersonal and formalistic. More emphasis is needed on demonstration, discussion, and similar processes which involve the individual in learning as an active participant rather than as a passive observer. Textbooks and similar instructional materials will need to be constructed out of the experiences shared in the poverty sub-culture so that they are immediately relevant and practical as solutions to familiar problems.

An important prerequisite to the operation of effective remedial educational programs is the selection and training of competent instructors of adults. Formal course work in sociology, psychology and anthropology should better enable such instructors to understand disadvantaged people in terms of their culture, their social roles, and their individual behavioural responses (8, 100, 101, 316). Without such background, instructors are hardly in a position to select and use appropriate processes for their special clientele.

Education and training programs designed for the disadvantaged adult must be personal, informal and individual. In short, the mass educational approach must be abandoned in favour of primary group relationships in the learning situation. Whether or not this is possible to achieve within the existing educational system remains to be explored but the likelihood of success seems dubious.

VI. SUMMARY

Specific details of educational planning to solve the problems inherent in programs designed for the disadvantaged cannot be stated with assurance at present because of the scarcity of substantial research. The generalized implications drawn from existing research as indicated above provide clues to planning which skilled adult educators should be able to translate into functional programs.

Any plan for a remedy for disadvantage must be concerned with cultural change which involves an alteration in the over-all way of life. Piecemeal approaches directed toward the alleviation of individual distress will not solve the problem because they will not alter the basic cultural environment (135). Clearly, if the disadvantaged are to be considered within an ecological framework rather than a cause and effect model, there is a need to deal with multiple levels of disadvantage in a co-ordinate way which requires social institutions unlike any of those we now possess (121). Thus, it may be more economical in the long run to establish new programs unrelated to present educational institutions than to attempt to reconstruct existing systems.

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